

EUSEBIUS

BISHOP OF CÆSAREA

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND THE MARTYRS OF PALESTINE

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

IN the first volume of this work will be found a translation of the ten books of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, and also of the two recensions of the *Martyrs of Palestine*.

As to our special treatment of the *Martyrs of Palestine*, we must refer our readers to the detailed account given in the Introduction (vol. ii); but it may be well to state at once our method and aim with regard to the *History*.

We have followed throughout the text of E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1903-1909), except in a few passages in which we have stated our preference for variants noted in his *apparatus criticus*. It is hoped that the opportunity, denied to our predecessors, of using a finely-edited critical text will give this translation into English additional value.

In presenting the work to the reader, smaller type has been used for direct, formal quotations; while italics indicate that Eusebius has embodied in his own narrative words taken from other sources. Wherever the Bible is quoted, directly or indirectly, the wording of the Revised Version has been employed, as far as possible.

The style of Eusebius has failed to win the admiration of posterity, and, especially, of those who have attempted to translate him. A distinguished scholar describes it as "wearying the reader by a rhetoric at once turgid and obscure"; and although the *History* contains some powerful and eloquent passages from the pen of its author, it must be admitted that Dr. Swete's criticism is, on the whole, just. And herein, indeed, lies precisely the difficulty that besets a translator. To reproduce literally the long and involved periods of the Bishop of Cæsarea would, obviously, be impossible; but, on the other hand, in an historical work of such importance, where so much often turns upon the rendering of a phrase, the greatest care must be taken not to misrepresent the original. The present work aims at giving as readable a translation as is consistent with a strict regard to accuracy. But the translator feels that in the last resort he must fall back on the plea of one of his predecessors, who says: "nous ne pouvions donner au style d'Eusèbe les qualités qui lui manquent le plus."

Several passages in the *History* have given rise to many and varied interpretations on the part of scholars; but it has not been thought advisable to overload vol. i with numerous

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alternative renderings. If such, therefore, are omitted, it must not be inferred that they have not been considered.

In the preparation of this volume many translations of the *History* or of passages therein have been consulted, which it is impossible to mention here by name; but a special reference must be made to the well-known work of Dr. A. C. McGiffert in the Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers; nor can we omit to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. J. Armitage Robinson in lending us the MS. of a translation, made by him, of a portion of Book vi. Unfortunately, Dr. Kirsopp Lake's translation of Books i-v (Loeb Classical Library) only reached us when this volume was already in print.

We think it well to state here that Mr. Oulton is responsible for the translation of the Greek text in vol. i, and Dr. Lawlor for the Introduction and Notes which comprise vol. ii. But each has criticized the work of the other.

Finally, we must express our sincere thanks for the help given us by two of our colleagues in Trinity College. Mr. William Kennedy performed the troublesome task of revising the translation of the Syriac text of the *Martyrs of Palestine*; and Professor R. M. Gwynn undertook the larger, if somewhat less complicated, labour of reading and criticizing the translation of the Greek text of the *History*. We have gratefully accepted most of their many suggestions. Our thanks are also due to the Rev. H. M. Harriss for assisting us in the correction of the proofs.

H. J. L.
J. E. L. O.

January 1927.

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

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| A. | Fragments of a Syriac Version of L. | S. E. Assemani, <i>Acta sanctorum Martyrorum</i> , 1748. |
| AA.SS. | Bollandist <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> . | |
| <i>Acta Achatii</i> | <i>Acta disputationis S. Achatii</i> . | A.M.S., p. 115. |
| <i>Acta Apoll.</i> | Acts of Apollonius. | A.M.S., p. 44. E.T., Conybeare, <i>Mon.</i> , p. 35. |
| | <i>Acta Pauli et Theclæ</i> . | Lipsius-Bonnet, i. p. 235. E.T., James, p. 272. |
| <i>Acta Tarachi</i> | <i>Acta Tarachi, Probi et Andronici</i> . | Ruinart, p. 419. E.T., Mason, p. 201. |
| | <i>Acts of Peter</i> . | Lipsius-Bonnet, i. p. 45. E.T., James, p. 300. |
| Afric., ad Arist. | Julii Africani, <i>Epistola ad Aristidem</i> . | Routh, <i>R.S.</i> , ii. p. 228; W. Reichardt (<i>T.U.</i> xxxiv. 3), 1909. E.T., A.N.L., ix. 2, p. 164. |
| Allard | La Persécution de Dioclétien et le Triomphe de l'Eglise, par P. Allard, 1908. | |
| A.M.S. | Ambrose, <i>de Paradiso</i> . O. von Gebhardt, <i>Acta Martyrum Selecta</i> , 1902. | C. Schenkl, 1897. |
| <i>Anecd. Oxon.</i> | <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Classical Series. | |
| A.N.L. | Ante-Nicene Library. | |
| <i>Anon. Vales.</i> | <i>Anonymus Valesianus</i> . | T. Mommsen in <i>M.G.H.</i> , <i>Chronica Minora</i> , i. p. 1. |
| Append. | "Appendix to Book VIII," vol. i. p. 401. | |
| Arnobius, <i>adv. Nat.</i> | Arnobius, <i>adversus Nationes</i> . | A. Reifferscheid, 1875. |
| Ath., <i>Arian.</i> ; | Athanasius, <i>Historia Arianorum ad Monachos</i> ; <i>Epistola de Nicænis Decretis</i> . | P.G., xxv. pp. 695, 411; E.T., A. Robertson in <i>P.N.F.</i> , ser. 2, vol. iv. |
| Dec. | | |
| Ath., <i>Fest. Lett.</i> | Athanasius, <i>Festal Letters</i> . | P.N.F., 2. iv. (E.T.). |
| Athenag., <i>Supp.</i> | Athenagoras, <i>Supplicatio pro Christianis</i> . | Otto, vii. E.T., A.N.L., ii. |
| Aubé. | B. Aubé, <i>Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise</i> , 1875, 1878. | |

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

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| Aug., <i>Brev. Coll.</i> ; <i>Hær.</i> ; <i>Epp.</i> | Augustinus, <i>Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis</i> ; <i>de Hæresibus</i> ; <i>Epistolæ</i> . | M. Petschenig, 1910 ; <i>P.L.</i> , xlii., xliii ; A. Goldbacher, 1895-1911. |
| Bardenhewer. | O. Bardenhewer, <i>Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur</i> , 1913-1924. | |
| Bardy. | G. Bardy, <i>Paul de Samosate</i> , 1923. | |
| Benson. | E. W. Benson, <i>Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work</i> , 1897. | |
| Bethune-Baker. | J. F. Bethune-Baker, <i>Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine</i> , 1903. | |
| Bingham. | J. Bingham, <i>Origines Ecclesiasticæ</i> , 1840. | |
| Bury, R. E. | J. B. Bury, <i>Student's Roman Empire</i> , 1896. | |
| C. Cabrol. | Syriac Version of L. Cabrol, <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne</i> , 1907. | W. Cureton, 1861. |
| Cass., <i>Coll. Chronicle</i> . | Cassianus, <i>Collationes</i> . Eusebius, <i>Chronica</i> . | M. Petschenig, 1886. J. K. Fotheringham, 1923 (for Hieronymian Version) ; A. Schoene, 1866, 1875. |
| <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> <i>C.I.G.</i> | <i>Chronicon Paschale</i> . <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum</i> . | L. Dindorf, 1832. |
| <i>C.I.L.</i> | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . | |
| Clem., <i>Ep.</i> | First Epistle of Clement of Rome. | J. B. Lightfoot, 1890 ; E.T., J. A. F. Gregg (S.P.C.K.), 1899 ; K. Lake (<i>L.C.L.</i>), 1912. |
| <i>Clem. Hom.</i> | Clementine Homilies. | A. R. M. Dressel, 1853. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , xvii. |
| <i>Clem. Recog.</i> | Clementine Recognitions. | J. B. Cotelier, 1672. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , iii. |
| Clem., <i>Hypot.</i> ; <i>Pæd.</i> ; <i>Protrept.</i> ; <i>Q.D.S.</i> ; <i>Strom.</i> | Clement of Alexandria, <i>Hypotyposesis</i> ; <i>Pædagogus</i> ; <i>Protrepticus ad Græcos</i> ; <i>Quis dives salvetur</i> ; <i>Stromateis</i> . | O. Stählin, 1905-1909. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , iv., xii., xxii. 2, xxiv ; (<i>Protrept.</i> and <i>Q.D.S.</i>) G. W. Butterworth (<i>L.C.L.</i>), 1919 ; (<i>Strom.</i>) P. M. Barnard (S.P.C.K.), 1901. <i>Q.D.S.</i> , ed. by P. M. Barnard (<i>T.S.</i> , v. 2), 1897. <i>Strom.</i> , vii., ed. (with E.T.) by F. J. A. Hort and J. B. Mayor, 1902. |
| <i>Const. Ap.</i> | <i>Constitutiones Apostolorum</i> . | F. X. Funk, 1905. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , xvii. |

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| Conybeare, <i>Mon.</i> | F. C. Conybeare, <i>The Armenian Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity</i> , 1896. | |
| Cramer, <i>Anecd.</i> ; <i>Cat.</i> | J. A. Cramer, <i>Anecdota Græca e manuscriptis Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis</i> , 1839-41 ; <i>Catenæ Græcorum Patrum in Nov. Test.</i> , 1844. | |
| Cyp., <i>de Unit.</i> ; <i>de Lapsis</i> ; <i>Epp.</i> ; <i>Sent. episc.</i> | Cyprian, <i>de Catholica Ecclesiæ Unitate</i> ; <i>de Lapsis</i> ; <i>Epistolæ</i> ; <i>Sententiæ Episcoporum</i> . | G. Hartel, 1868. E.T., A.N.L., viii., xiii. |
| D. Addai. | <i>The Doctrine of Addai.</i> | G. Phillips (with E.T.), 1876. |
| D.C.A. | Smith-Cheetham, <i>Dict. of Christian Antiquities</i> , 1875, 1880. | |
| D.C.B. | Smith-Wace, <i>Dict. of Christian Biography</i> , 1877-1880. | |
| D.G.R.B. ; D.G.R.G. | W. Smith, <i>Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography</i> , etc., 1844-1849 ; <i>Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography</i> ; 1856-7. | |
| de Boor. | C. de Boor, <i>Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hege-sippus und Pierius (T.U., v. 2, p. 165)</i> , 1888. | |
| de Labriolle, <i>Crise</i> ; <i>Sources.</i> | P. de Labriolle, <i>La Crise Montaniste ; Les Sources de l'Histoire du Montanisme</i> , 1913. | |
| Dion. Alex., <i>ad Herm.</i> ; <i>Prom.</i> | Dionysius of Alexandria, <i>Epistle to Hermamon ; On Promises</i> . | C. L. Feltoe, 1904. E.T., by same (S.P.C.K.), 1918. |
| Dittrich. | J. J. S. Dittrich, <i>Dionysius der Grosse</i> , 1867. | |
| Duchesne, <i>Hist. Ch.</i> | L. Duchesne, <i>Early History of the Christian Church</i> (E.T.), 1910- . | |
| Duruy. | V. Duruy, <i>History of Rome and the Roman People</i> (E.T.), 1882-1886. | |
| <i>Encyc. Bib.</i> | Cheyne-Black, <i>Encyclopædia Biblica</i> , 1899-1903. | |
| Epiph., <i>Anaceph.</i> ; <i>Hær.</i> ; <i>Mens.</i> | Ephiphanius, <i>Anacephalæosi</i> ; <i>Panarion</i> ; <i>de Mensibus et Ponderibus</i> . | W. Dindorf, 1859-1862. |
| E.R.E. | J. Hastings, <i>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics</i> , 1908-1921. | |
| E.T. | English Translation. | |
| Eus., <i>c. Marcell.</i> | Eusebius, <i>contra Marcellum</i> . | E. Klostermann, 1906. |

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

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| Eus., <i>Dem. Ev.</i> ; <i>Ecl. Proph.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i> ; <i>Eclogæ Propheticae</i> . | T. Gaisford, 1852, 1842. E.T., <i>Dem. Ev.</i> , W. J. Ferrar (S.P.C.K.), 1920. |
| Eus., <i>Præp. Ev.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Præparatio Evangelica</i> . | E. H. Gifford (with E.T.), 1903. |
| Eus., <i>Theoph.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Theophania</i> . | S. Lee, 1842; H. Gressmann (Grk. Frags.), 1903. E.T., S. Lee, 1843. |
| Eus., <i>V.C.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Vita Constantini</i> . | J. A. Heikel, 1902. E.T., <i>P.N.F.</i> , i. |
| <i>Euseb.</i> | H. J. Lawlor, <i>Eusebiana</i> , 1912. | |
| Eutropius. | Eutropius, <i>Breviarium Historiæ Roma</i> . | A. J. Valpy, 1821. |
| Feltoe. | C. F. Feltoe, <i>The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria</i> , 1904. | |
| G. | Fragments of the Greek text of L. | E. Schwartz, 1908. |
| g. | Notices of Martyrs, in the Greek Menæa, etc., based on L. | |
| Gibbon. | E. Gibbon, <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> , ed. J. B. Bury, 1897-1900. | |
| Gregg. | J. A. F. Gregg, <i>The Decian Persecution</i> , 1897. | |
| Gregory, <i>Pan.</i> | Gregory, <i>Panegyric on Origen</i> . | P. Koetschau, 1894. E.T., W. Metcalfe (S.P.C.K.), 1907. |
| Gwatkin. | H. M. Gwatkin, <i>Early Church History to A.D. 313</i> , 1919. | |
| Harnack, <i>Ueberlief. ; Chron.</i> | A. Harnack, <i>Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur</i> , Th. 1, 2, 1893-1904. | |
| Harnack, <i>Expansion</i> . | A. Harnack, <i>The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries</i> (E.T.), 1908. | |
| Hartel. | G. Hartel, <i>S. Cypriani Opera Omnia</i> , 1868-1871. | |
| Harvey. | W. W. Harvey, <i>S. Irenæi Libri Quinque adversus Hæreses</i> , 1857. | |
| H.E. | <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> . | |
| Hefele. | C. J. Hefele, <i>History of the Councils of the Church</i> (E.T.), 1871-1896. | |
| Heg. | Hegesippus, <i>Memoirs</i> . Hermas, <i>Shepherd</i> . | <i>Euseb.</i> , pp. 1-107. Lightfoot-Harmer, and K. Lake (<i>L.C.L.</i>) 1913 (both with E.T.). E.T., C. Taylor (S.P.C.K.), 1903, 1906. |

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| Hippol., <i>Ref.</i> | Hippolytus, <i>Omnium Heresium Refutatio.</i> | Wendland, 1916. E.T., F. Legge (S.P.C.K.), 1921. |
| Hippol., <i>Syntag.</i> | Hippolytus, <i>Syntagma against Thirty-two Heresies.</i> | R. A. Lipsius, <i>Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius</i> , 1865. |
| <i>Hist. Laus.</i> | <i>Historia Lausiaca.</i> | C. Butler (T.S.), 1898, 1904. E.T., W. K. L. Clarke (S.P.C.K.), 1918. |
| Hort, <i>Jud. Christ.</i> | F. J. A. Hort, <i>Judaistic Christianity</i> , 1894. | |
| Ign. | Epistles of Ignatius. | J. B. Lightfoot (with E.T.), 1885. E.T., J. H. Srawley (S.P.C.K.), 1919; K. Lake (L.C.L.), 1912. |
| Iren. | Irenæus, <i>Against Heresies.</i> | W. W. Harvey, 1857. E.T., A.N.L., v, ix. |
| James. | M. R. James, <i>The Apocryphal New Testament</i> , 1924. | |
| Jer., <i>Apol.</i> ; <i>Gal.</i> ; <i>Quæst.</i> | Hieronymus, <i>Apologia adversus libros Rufini ; Commentaria in Epistolam ad Galatos ; Quæstiones Hebraicæ.</i> | P.L., xxiii., xxvi. E.T. (<i>Apol.</i>), P.N.F., ser. 2, iii. |
| Jer., <i>Epp.</i> Jer., <i>V.I.</i> | Hieronymus, <i>Epistolæ.</i> Hieronymus, <i>Liber de Viris Illustribus.</i> | J. Hilberg, 1910, 1912. E. C. Richardson (T.U., xiv. 1), 1896. E.T., P.N.F., u.s. |
| Jos., <i>Ant.</i> ; <i>Ap.</i> ; <i>B.J.</i> ; <i>Vita.</i> | Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews ; Treatise against Apion ; Wars of the Jews ; Autobiography.</i> | B. Niese, 1867-1895 ; S. A. Naber, 1888-1896. E.T., A. R. Shilleto, 1889, 1890 ; (B.J., <i>Vita</i>) R. Traill, 1862. |
| Jul. | Julian, <i>Orationes.</i> | F. C. Hertlein, 1875, 1876. E.T., C. W. King, 1888. |
| Just., <i>Apol.</i> i, ii ; <i>Dial.</i> | Justin Martyr, <i>First and Second Apologies ; Dialogue with Trypho.</i> | J. C. T. Otto, 1876, 1877 ; (<i>Apol.</i>) A. W. F. Blunt, 1911. E.T., A.N.L., ii. |
| L. Lact., <i>Inst.</i> ; <i>Mort.</i> | Longer recension of M.P. Lactantius, <i>Divine Institutiones ; De Mortibus Persecutorum.</i> | S. Brandt, 1890. E.T., A.N.L., xxi., xxii. |
| Lat. | Fragments of Latin Versions of L. | B. Violet, 1896. |
| L.C.L. | Loeb Classical Library. Liberian Catalogue. | T. Mommsen in <i>M.G.H.</i> , Chron. Min. ; Lightfoot, <i>Clem.</i> , i. 253. |
| Lightfoot, <i>Clem.</i> ; <i>Ign.</i> Lightfoot, <i>Col.</i> ; <i>Phil.</i> ; <i>S.R.</i> | J. B. Lightfoot, <i>The Apostolic Fathers</i> , Pt. I, 1890 ; Pt. II, 1889. <i>Epistles to Colossians and Philemon</i> , 1884 ; <i>to Philippians</i> , 1883 ; <i>Essays on Supernatural Religion</i> , 1889. | |

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

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| Lightfoot-Harmer. | J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, <i>Apostolic Fathers</i> , 1891. | |
| Lipsius-Bonnet. | R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> 1891-1893. | |
| Loofs. | F. Loofs, <i>Paulus von Samosata</i> (T.U., xlv. 5), 1924. | |
| Macar. Mag. | Macarius Magnes, <i>Apo-criticus</i> . | C. Blondel, 1876. E.T., T. W. Crafer (S.P.C.K.), 1919. |
| Mansi. | J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio</i> . | |
| Marquardt-Mommsen. | J. Marquardt and T. Mommsen, <i>Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer</i> , 1878-1888. | |
| Mart. Pion. | Martyrdom of Pionius. | A.M.S., 96. |
| Mart. Pol. | Martyrdom of Polycarp (the Epistle of the Smyrnæans). | Lightfoot in <i>Ign.</i> , iii. (with E.T.). |
| Mason. | A. J. Mason, <i>The Persecution of Diocletian</i> , 1876. | |
| Merrill. | E. T. Merrill, <i>Essays in Early Christian History</i> , 1924. | |
| M.G.H. | <i>Monumenta Germanicæ Historica</i> . | |
| Mommsen, Prov. | T. Mommsen, <i>The Provinces of the Roman Empire</i> (E.T.), 1886. | |
| M.P. | Eusebius, <i>Martyrs of Palestine</i> . | |
| N.P.F. | <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . | |
| Optatus. | Optatus, <i>De Schismate Donatistarum</i> . | C. Ziwsa, 1893. |
| Orig., Cels.; Joh.; Mart.; Orat.; Princip. | Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i> ; <i>Commentary on John</i> ; <i>De Martyrio</i> ; <i>De Oratione</i> ; <i>De Principiis</i> . | P. Koetschau, E. Klostermann and F. Preuschen, 1899-1913. <i>Joh.</i> , also ed. by A. E. Brooke, 1896. E.T., A.N.L., x., xxiii., and additional volume. |
| Orig., Luc.; Matt.; Ep. ad African. | Origen, <i>Homilies on Luke</i> ; <i>Commentary on Matthew</i> ; <i>Epistola ad Africanum</i> . | P.G., xiii. 1801, 829; xi. 47. E.T., A.N.L., additional volume and x. 371. |
| Orig., Phil. Otto. | Origen, <i>Philocalia</i> . J. C. T. de Otto, <i>Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum</i> , 1851-1881. | J. A. Robinson, 1893. |
| Oxyr. Pap. | A. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, <i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , 1898—. | |

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

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| <i>Paneg.</i> | xii <i>Panegyrici Latini.</i> | A. Baehrens, 1874. |
| <i>P.G.</i> | Migne, <i>Patrologia Græca.</i> | |
| <i>Philo, D.V.C.;</i> <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Philo, De Vita Contem-</i> <i>plativa; De Legatione</i> <i>ad Gaium.</i> | L. Cohn and S. Reiter, 1915. E.T., C. D. Yonge, 1854-5. |
| <i>Photius.</i> | <i>Photius, Bibliotheca.</i> | I. Bekker, 1824-5. E.T., J. H. Freese (S.P.C.K.), 1920- . |
| <i>Pilg.</i> | The Pilgrimage of Silvia (or Etheria). | J. F. Gamurrini, 1887. E.T., J. H. Bernard, 1891; M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe (S.P.C.K.), 1919. |
| <i>P.L.</i> | Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina.</i> | |
| <i>P.N.F.</i> | <i>Library of Nicene and</i> <i>Post-Nicene Fathers.</i> | |
| <i>Pol., Phil.</i> | Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. | J. B. Lightfoot, <i>Ign.</i> , iii. (with E.T.). K. Lake (L.C.L. with E.T.), 1912. |
| <i>Ps.-Cyp., Spect.</i> | Pseudo-Cyprianus (Nova- titanus), <i>De Spectaculis.</i> | G. Hartel, iii. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , xiii. |
| <i>Ps.-Tert., Hær.</i> | Pseudo-Tertullianus, <i>Li-</i> <i>bellus adversus Omnes</i> <i>Hæreses.</i> | A. Kroymann, <i>Tertulli-</i> <i>ani Opera</i> , iii. 213, 1906. E.T., <i>A.N.L.</i> , xviii. 259. |
| <i>Ramsay,</i> <i>Phrygia;</i> <i>R.E.;</i> <i>Discov.</i> | W. M. Ramsay, <i>Cities</i> <i>and Bishoprics of</i> <i>Phrygia</i> , 1895, 1897; <i>The Church in the</i> <i>Roman Empire</i> , 1893; <i>The Bearing of Recent</i> <i>Discovery on the Trust-</i> <i>worthiness of the New</i> <i>Testament</i> , 1915. | |
| <i>R.E.</i> | Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-</i> <i>Encyclopädie der class-</i> <i>ischen Altertumswissen-</i> <i>schaft</i> , 1894. | |
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BOOK I

The First Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following :

1. The plan of the projected work.
2. A summary discussion of the pre-existence and divinity of our Saviour and Lord, the Christ of God.
3. That the name Jesus, and also the very name Christ, had been known from the beginning and honoured by the divinely inspired prophets.
4. That the nature of the religion proclaimed by Him to all the nations was not modern nor even strange.
5. On the time of His appearing among men.
6. That in His time, in accordance with the prophecies, those rulers who had formerly governed the nation of the Jews by right of succession from their forefathers came to an end; and that Herod was the first foreigner to be their king.
7. On the supposed discrepancy in the Gospels as to the genealogy of Christ.
8. On the attempt of Herod upon the children, and the manner of the death which overtook him.
9. On the times of Pilate.
10. On the high priests among the Jews, in whose day Christ taught.
11. The testimonies concerning John the Baptist and Christ.
12. On the disciples of our Saviour.
13. Narrative concerning the prince of the people of Edessa.



PREFACE

The Plan of the History.

1. THE successions from the holy apostles, together with the times that have elapsed from our Saviour's day down to our own; the important affairs that are said to have been transacted in the history of the Church, and those who took a prominent place in that history as leaders and presidents in such communities as were especially famous; those who in each generation were ambassadors of the divine word, either orally or by means of treatises also; the names, number and times of all those who through love of innovation fell into the most grievous error, and have proclaimed themselves as introducers of *knowledge falsely so called*,¹ unsparingly like
2 *grievous wolves ravaging the flock*² of Christ; the disasters, moreover, that fell upon the whole Jewish nation immediately after their plot against our Saviour; as also the extent, nature and times of the war which has been waged by the heathen against the divine word, and the noble men who as occasion offered endured death and torture in the conflict on its behalf; the martyrdoms, after these things, that took place in our day also, and the gracious and kindly succour of our Saviour at the end of all: these it is my purpose to commit to writing, yet my starting-point shall be none other than the beginning of the dispensation of Jesus, our Saviour and Lord, the Christ of God.

Difficulties of the Enterprise.

- 3 But our book in consequence must crave a lenient judgment from the indulgent. It acknowledges that it is beyond our powers to fulfil our promise completely and without omission, for we are the first to undertake this present project and to attempt, as it were, to travel along a lonely and untrodden path. We pray that we may have God as our guide, and the power of the Lord as our fellow-worker; but, as regards man, we can in no wise discover the clear tracks of those who have preceded us on the same path, but only faint traces, in which in their several ways they have bequeathed to us particular accounts of the times through which they passed, lifting up their voices like beacons from afar and crying from on high,

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

² Acts xx. 29.

as out of some watch-tower or from some outlook, to admonish us as to the path along which we ought to walk and direct the course of our book so as to escape error and danger. We have gathered, therefore, from among the things that these same persons have mentioned here and there, whatsoever we deemed profitable for the project in hand, and having plucked, as it were, from meadows of literature suitable passages from these authors of long ago, we shall attempt to embody them in an historical narrative : happy if we may preserve the successions from the apostles of our Saviour, if not in every case, at least the most renowned of them, in those churches that are still pre-eminent and of note to this day. And I consider that my labours in this project are most urgently needed, for among the ecclesiastical writers I know none who has hitherto given his attention to this department of writing ; and I trust that they will also prove of the greatest benefit to those who are eager for the useful learning afforded by history. Indeed, I have already made an epitome of these things on a former occasion in the Chronological Canons which I drew up ; but nevertheless in this present work I have set out to supply the fullest account of them. And my book will begin, as I said,¹ with the dispensation and divinity of Christ, a conception too lofty and great for man's intelligence. For he who would commit to writing the history that contains the Church's narrative, must needs begin from the first with the beginning of the dispensation of Christ Himself (since we have been deemed worthy to derive even our name from Him), a dispensation more divine than most men imagine.

INTRODUCTION

The Beginning of the Dispensation of the Word.

2. Now since in Him there are two modes of being, and the one may be likened to the head of the body, in that He is conceived of as God, and the other may be compared to the feet, in that for our salvation He assumed human nature *of like passions with us* : ² our statement of what follows will accordingly be complete, if we begin the narrative of His whole history with the chiefest and most important attributes of the Word. And in this way also the antiquity and divine character that surround the beginnings of Christianity will be manifested to those who conceive of it as newfangled and outlandish in its origin, a creature of no earlier date than yesterday.
- 2 So then, no words could be sufficient to express the origin and worth, that is, the very essence and nature of the Christ, inasmuch as even the divine Spirit says in prophetic words,

¹ § 2.² Cp. Acts xiv. 15 ; James v. 17.

Who shall declare his generation? ¹ For in truth *neither* did anyone know the Father, *save the Son*; nor on the other hand did ever any worthily know the Son, *save only the Father* ² who ³ begat Him. As for the *Light* which was before the world, ³ and the Wisdom, *quick of understanding* ⁴ and having essential being, which was before the ages, ⁵ and the *Word* which was living and *in the beginning* was God with the Father, ⁶ who except the Father can clearly conceive of Him?—the first and only begotten of God before *every creature* and thing made, whether seen or *invisible*, ⁷ the *captain of the spiritual and immortal host in heaven*, ⁸ the *angel of mighty counsel*, ⁹ the attendant upon the ineffable will of the Father, the maker of all things with the Father, the second cause, after the Father, of the universe, the true and only-begotten Son of God, the Lord and God and King of all creatures, who has received from the Father the supreme authority and *dominion* together with deity and *power and honour*; ¹⁰ for in truth, as the Scriptures bear witness to His divinity in mystic language,

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made. ¹¹

⁴ Therefore the great Moses also, as the most ancient of all the prophets, in describing, under the influence of the divine Spirit, the coming into being and ordering of the whole, tells us of the Orderer and Creator of the universe conceding to the very Christ Himself, and to none other (it is plain) than His divine and first-begotten Word, the making of inferior creatures, and holding converse with Him on the begetting of man. For, says he, *God said, Let us make man in our image, and after* ⁵ *our likeness*. ¹² And to this word another of the prophets gives his surety, when he speaks of God on this wise in hymns: *He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created*. ¹³ Thus he introduces the Father and Maker as giving commands like a universal ruler by His sovereign will; and, holding the second place to Him, the divine Word—none other than He whom we proclaim—as doing service to His Father's behests.

¹ Isai. liii. 8.

³ Cp. John i. 9.

⁵ Cp. Prov. viii. 23.

⁷ Col. i. 15, 16.

⁹ Isai. ix. 6 (LXX).

¹¹ John i. 1, 3.

¹³ Ps. xxxiii. 9; cxlviii. 5.

² Matt. xi. 27.

⁴ Wisdom vii. 22.

⁶ John i. 1, 2.

⁸ Josh. v. 14; 1 Kin. xxii. 19.

¹⁰ Rev. v. 12, 13.

¹² Gen. i. 26.

The Theophanies.

- 6 And even from the time when man was first begotten, all who are said to have excelled in righteousness and the virtue of reverence, namely, the followers of the great *servant Moses* ¹—yea, and before him Abraham first of all, his children, and as many just men and prophets as afterwards appeared—recognized the vision of Him which they perceived by the pure eyes of the mind, and accorded Him, as Son of God, fitting
 7 honour. And He, on His part, in no wise neglecting the piety due to His Father, became the teacher of them all in the knowledge of His Father. For example, the Lord *God* is said to have *appeared* as an ordinary man to Abraham *as he sat by the oak of Mamre*. And straightway he fell down, and, though it was a man that he saw with his eyes, *worshipped* Him as God, besought Him as Lord, and confessed that he was not ignorant who He was; for he addressed Him in these words: *O Lord, shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* ²
- 8 For if reason does not permit that the uncreated and immutable essence of God Almighty should be changed into the form of a man, or, on the other hand, should deceive the eyes of those who beheld it with the apparition of a created being that did not exist, or that the Scripture should falsely invent such things: what other name may be given to Him, the God and Lord *who judgeth all the earth and doeth right*, who is seen *in the fashion of a man* ³ (since we may not style Him the First Cause of the universe), except His only pre-existent Word? Concerning whom it has also been said in the Psalms, *He sent his word, and healed them, and delivered them from their*
 9 *destructions*.⁴ Him does Moses most clearly name as second Lord after the Father when he says, *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord*.⁵ When He appeared also to Jacob once again *in the fashion of a man*,³ the divine Scripture calls Him God; when He said to Jacob, *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: for thou hast had power with God*; ⁶ when also Jacob called *the name of that place Vision of God*, saying, *for I have seen God face to face, and my life was preserved*.⁷
- 10 And further, it is not permissible to regard the recorded theophanies as appearances of inferior angels and ministers of God, since when any of these appears to men, the Scripture uses no concealment, for it states that they are called by name, not “God” nor even “Lord,” but “angels”; as it would be
 11 easy to prove by countless testimonies. Joshua also, Moses’

¹ Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 5.³ Phil. ii. 8.⁵ Gen. xix. 24.⁷ Gen. xxxii. 30.² Gen. xviii. 1, 2, 25.⁴ Ps. cvii. 20.⁶ Gen. xxxii. 28.

successor, when he beheld Him none otherwise than, once again, in *the form and fashion of a man*,¹ named Him *captain of the host of the Lord*,² as the leader of the celestial angels and archangels and of the supermundane hosts, and as being, so to speak, *the power and wisdom* ³ of the Father, and entrusted with
 12 the second place in the kingdom and rule over all. Thus it is written :

And it came to pass, when Joshua was at Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and saw a man standing over against him, and his sword drawn in his hand; and Joshua went unto him and said, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said to him, I am the captain of the host of the Lord; now am I come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, Lord, what commandest thou thy servant? And the captain of the Lord said unto Joshua, Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is a holy place.⁴

13 Here also you will gather from these words that this was none other than He who had also given direction to Moses; for the Scripture employs the same words in this case also :

And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, the Lord called unto him out of the midst of the bush, saying, Moses, Moses. And he said, What is it? And he said, Draw not nigh hither : put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And he said unto him, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.⁵

The Pre-existence of the Word.

14 And that there is a certain essence living and subsisting before the world, which ministered to the Father and God of the universe in the making of all created things, called the Word of God and Wisdom, we may perceive not only from the proofs already set forth, but further from the person of Wisdom herself; for by the mouth of Solomon she initiates us in the clearest manner into the things of herself, as follows :

I, wisdom, have made counsel my dwelling-place,
 And I have invoked knowledge and discretion.

By me kings reign,
 And princes decree justice.
 By me great ones are made great,
 And tyrants by me rule the earth.⁶

15 To this he adds :

The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works,
 Before the world he established me.
 In the beginning, before he made the earth . . .

¹ Phil. ii. 7, 8.

² Josh. v. 14.

³ Cp. 1 Cor. i. 24.

⁴ Josh. v. 13-15.

⁵ Ex. iii. 4-6.

⁶ Prov. viii. 12, 15, 16 (LXX).

Before the fountains of waters sprang forth,
 Before the mountains were settled,
 Before all hills he brought me forth.

When he prepared the heaven, I was by his side,
 And when he made fast the fountains of the region under heaven,
 I was with him as his workman.
 I was daily his delight,
 And I rejoiced before him at all times,
 When he rejoiced at the completion of the inhabited earth.¹

- 16 So then, that the divine Word was pre-existent and appeared to some, even if not to all, let this our brief account suffice to show.

Why He was not sooner manifested to all.

- 17 Why, then, He was not preached, as He is now, to all men and to all nations in former days of old, will appear from the following. Men as they lived in the olden days were unable to receive the all-wise and all-virtuous teaching of the Christ.
 18 Indeed in the beginning, immediately after his original life of blessedness, the first man lightly regarded the divine commandment, fell to this mortal and perishable condition and received this earth, laid under a curse,² in exchange for his former God-given delights.

- And this man's descendants filled the whole earth as we know it,³ and turned out much worse with the exception of one or two, entering upon a beast-like, intolerable mode of existence.
 19 And what is more, they took no thought for city or state, arts or sciences; they did not possess even the name of laws and ordinances, nor, still further, of virtue and philosophy; but passed a nomadic life in the desert like wild and fierce creatures. The powers of reasoning that nature gives for man's possession and the seeds of thought and culture implanted in the human soul, these they destroyed by an excess of self-chosen wickedness. They had wholly given themselves over to all kinds of unhallowed deeds: at one time they would corrupt, at another slay, each other; or, yet again, devour human flesh; they essayed battles with gods, and those battles with giants that were so universally famous; they planned to fortify earth against heaven, nay, in wild frenzy of mind prepared to war on Him who is over all.

- 20 Whereupon, as they conducted themselves on this wise, God, who watches over all things, visited them with floods and

¹ Prov. viii. 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31 (LXX).

² Cp. Gen. iii. 17.

³ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

conflagrations, as though they were a wild forest spread over the face of the whole earth; with continuous famines and plagues, and again with wars and thunder-bolts from on high, He cut them off, increasing His chastisements as if to check some dread and very dangerous disease of their soul.

- 21 So then at that time, when wickedness was overshadowing and darkening the souls of almost the whole human race, and, like a deep fit of drunkenness, spread its profound torpor over little short of all mankind, the first-born and first-created Wisdom of God and the pre-existent Word Himself in His abundant love for men showed Himself, at times by a vision of angels to the inferior order of beings, and at times by Himself as the saving power of God, to some one or another of those men of old whom God loved; yet not otherwise than in human form, because it was not possible for them [to see Him] in
 22 another way. And when by this means the seeds of godliness had come to be implanted in a multitude of men, and a whole nation upon the earth, sprung from the primitive Hebrews, was found to adhere stedfastly to godliness, He imparted to them by His prophet Moses, as to multitudes still imbued with their ancient practices, images and symbols of a certain mystic sabbath, and introduced circumcision and other spiritual principles. But He did not initiate them into their meaning clearly.

The Incarnation.

- 23 And when the legislation of the Jews became famous and like a fragrant breeze was spread abroad among all men, then, thanks to them, the minds also of the majority of the nations were now softened by their law-givers and philosophers everywhere, and their wild and fierce brutality was changed to a gentler mood; so that also that profound peace which comes from mutual friendship and intercourse prevailed. And then finally there appeared, in the early days of the Roman Empire, to all mankind and the nations throughout the world—as to men who, so to speak, had been previously helped and were now fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father—once again that same Teacher of virtue, the Minister of the Father in all good things, the divine and heavenly Word of God, in a human body which in no point essentially differed from that which our nature wears. He did and suffered such things as were in accordance with the prophecies; for they predicted that One, both man and God, would come to this world to perform miraculous deeds, and that He would show Himself to all the nations as a Teacher of the piety due to His Father; they foretold also His miraculous birth, the new teaching and the wonders of His works; and, moreover, the manner of His

death, His resurrection from the dead, and finally His divine restoration to the heavens.

- 24 For example, Daniel the prophet, in the vision which the divine Spirit vouchsafed him of His final kingdom, was thus inspired by God to describe it in terms more suited to human comprehension :

For I beheld, says he, till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit : and his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool : his throne was a fiery flame, and the wheels thereof burning fire. A fiery stream issued from before him : thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him : he held the court of judgment, and the books were opened.¹

- 25 And afterwards :

I beheld, says he, . . . and, lo, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and was brought near before him. And there was given him the rule, and the honour, and the kingdom, and all the peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve him : his dominion is an everlasting dominion, such as shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed.²

- 26 Now these words should clearly be referred to none other than to our Saviour, to Him who was *in the beginning with God*, *God the Word*,³ called *Son of Man* because of His incarnation
27 at the last. But since we collected in special memoirs those selections from the prophets that relate to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in other writings arranged in more convincing form what is revealed concerning Him, on the present occasion we shall content ourselves with what has been said.

The Names Jesus and Christ in Moses.

3. But now it is time to show also that the very name of Jesus, and of Christ as well, had been honoured by those prophets
2 of old who were dear to God. Moses himself was the first to make known the name of Christ in the most revered and glorious manner possible. He gave *patterns* and symbols of *heavenly things*, and mystic images in accordance with the *warning of God* which said to him, *See that thou make all things according to the pattern that was shewed thee in the mount* ;⁴ and in calling the high priest of God by the name of *Christ* ⁵ he gave him a name of as high omen as it was possible for man to bear, and thus upon the high-priestly dignity, which in his opinion surpassed every post of honour among men, he con-

¹ Dan. vii. 9, 10 (Theodotion).

² Dan. vii. 13, 14 (Theodotion).

³ John i. 1.

⁴ Heb. viii. 5 [Exod. xxv. 40].

⁵ "Anointed" (χριστός) : Lev. iv. 5, 16 and vi. 22 (LXX).

ferred the additional honour and glory of the name of Christ. So convinced was he, it would seem, that the title Christ was something divine.

- 3 And Moses also was inspired by the divine Spirit to foresee with perfect clearness the name of Jesus; and, once again, he deemed this name also worthy of a special privilege. Certainly it had never before been on the lips of men, until it was made known to Moses; and he conferred the designation of Jesus on him first of all, and on him alone, who he knew would succeed (once more in a type and symbol) after his death to
4 the supreme command.¹ Certainly his successor had not formerly borne the name of Jesus; but was called by another, that of Ause, which his parents had given him. Moses himself called him Jesus, bestowing on him the name as if it were some precious honour, far greater than a kingly diadem; for in truth Jesus the son of Nave himself bore the image of our Saviour, of Him who alone, after Moses and the completion of the symbolic service that Moses was the means of transmitting, succeeded to the command in that true and most pure religion.

- 5 Thus indeed did Moses confer upon those two men who in his day surpassed all the people in merit and distinction—that is, upon the high priest and him who should be the leader after him—the name of our Saviour Christ as an exceeding great honour.

The Name Christ in Later Prophets.

- 6 And the prophets also who came after clearly spoke beforehand of the Christ by name, and bore prophetic witness, both to the plot that the Jewish people were to lay against Him, and also to the calling of the nations through Him. Thus at one time Jeremiah speaks as follows :

The Spirit of our face, the Lord Christ, was taken in their corruptions;

Of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations; ²

at another, David utters his perplexity in these words :

Why did the nations rage,
And the peoples imagine vain things ?
The kings of the earth set themselves in array,
And the rulers were gathered together,
Against the Lord and against his Christ.³

To this, further on, he adds, speaking in the person of Christ :

The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son ;

This day have I begotten thee.

Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.⁴

¹ Num. xiii. 16; xxvii. 15 ff.

² Lam. iv. 20 (LXX).

³ Ps. ii. 1, 2.

⁴ Ps. ii. 7, 8.

7 So then, not only were those, who had been honoured with the high-priesthood and symbolically anointed with prepared oil, adorned among the Hebrews with the name of the Christ, but also the kings; whom the prophets anointed at the divine command and thus made, as it were, into representations of Christ: for in truth they also bore in their own persons the types of the royal and supreme authority of the only and true Christ, the divine Word, the universal King.

The Relation of High Priests, Kings and Prophets to Christ.

8 And it has actually come down to us that some also of these same prophets have by anointing become typically Christs, so that they all may be referred to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Word, who is the only High Priest of the universe, the only King of all creation, and the only supreme Prophet
 9 among His Father's prophets. A proof of this lies in the fact that none of those who in days gone by have been symbolically anointed, be he priest or king or even prophet, ever possessed the power of divinely-given virtue to such a degree as that which our Saviour and Lord, Jesus, the only and true Christ,
 10 has displayed. None at least of those men, distinguished though they were for dignity and honour among their own people for numberless generations, ever bestowed upon their subjects the well-omened name of Christians after their own symbolic title of Christ. Nay, none of them ever received the honour of worship from his subjects. Nay, none excited such affection after his death that men were ready to die on behalf of him whom they honoured. Nay, none of them in his day was the cause of such a commotion among all the nations of the world; for the power of the symbol was unable to produce among them an effect equal to that caused by the
 11 presentation of the truth as exhibited by our Saviour. He received no symbols or types of the high-priesthood from any-one; nay, He did not trace His earthly descent from those who had been priests, nor was He advanced to a kingdom by military power, nor was He made a prophet like those of old, nor did the Jews confer on Him any dignity at all or eminence; nevertheless the Father has honoured Him with them all, if
 12 not with the symbols, at any rate with the truth itself. And if, after all, He did not possess like honours with those we have mentioned before, He is more justly styled Christ than they all, and since He is the only true Christ of God, He has filled the whole world with Christians, that truly revered and sacred title of His; and He has committed to His followers no longer types or symbols, but the very¹ virtues themselves and heavenly
 13 life in principles of absolute truth. And He has received the oil, not that prepared of material substances, but the oil of the

¹ Lit. naked, clear.

divine Spirit as befits His divinity, by His participation in that divine nature which is unbegotten and of the Father. And this again is the very thing that Isaiah teaches us, when he cries aloud, as if from the lips of Christ, on this wise :

The spirit of the Lord is upon me ;
Wherefore he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor,
He hath sent me . . .
To proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind.¹

- 14 Yea, and not alone Isaiah, but David also addresses His person, saying,

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever :
A sceptre of equity is the sceptre of thy kingdom.
Thou hast loved righteousness and hated wickedness :
Therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed thee
With the oil of gladness above thy fellows.²

- Wherein the Scripture calls Him God in the first line, while
15 in the second it honours Him with a kingly sceptre ; then further on, after giving Him divine and kingly power, it represents Him in the third place as having become Christ, anointed, not with oil formed from earthly materials, but with the divine *oil of gladness*.³ And thus it indicates His especial honour, much superior to and differing from those who in days of old had been symbolically anointed in more material fashion.

- 16 And elsewhere too David declares the things concerning Him, saying somewhat as follows :

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand,
Until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet,

and

From the womb before the daystar I begat thee.
The Lord sware, and will not repent himself.
Thou art a priest for ever
After the order of Melchizedek.⁴

- 17 Now *this Melchizedek* is introduced in the sacred Scriptures as *priest of God Most High*,⁵ consecrated by no kind of prepared oil ; nay, not belonging by descent to the Hebrew priesthood. For this reason, *after his order*,⁶ but not after the order of the others who had received symbols and types, our Saviour was proclaimed Christ and *priest* ⁶ *with the taking of an oath*.⁷
18 Wherefore history does not record Him as anointed on the body by the Jews, nor even as descended from a *tribe of priests*,⁸ but as called into being by God Himself *before the*

¹ Luke iv. 18 [Isai. lxi. 1].

² Ps. xlv. 6, 7.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ps. cx. 1, 3, 4 (LXX).

⁵ Heb. vii. 1 ; cp. Gen. xiv. 18.

⁶ Ps. cx. 4.

⁷ Heb. vii. 21.

⁸ Heb. vii. 14.

daystar,¹ that is, before the forming of the world, and as possessing a deathless and undecaying *priesthood* to endless *ages*.²

- 19 And that His unction was spiritual and divine, a great and clear proof lies in the fact that He alone of all men who ever existed up to the present day is called Christ by all the human race throughout the entire world, and is acknowledged and confessed by all under this title, and is had in memory by both Greeks and barbarians; and to this day He is honoured by His followers throughout the world as king, admired above a prophet, and glorified as the true and only high priest of God; and, in addition to all this, as the Word of God pre-existent and called into being before all ages, and as One who has received from the Father the honour of worship, He is also
- 20 worshipped as God. Yet the most wonderful thing of all is that we honour Him, we who have dedicated ourselves to Him, not alone with voices and sounding words, but also with the whole soul's affection, insomuch that we prize our witness to Him before our very life.

Christianity as old as Creation.

4. This, then, I have of necessity stated in the forefront of my history, lest any should think that our Saviour and Lord Jesus the Christ was only of yesterday, because of the time in which He lived in the flesh. But that none should imagine that His teaching is recent and strange, put together (as it were) by one of recent origin, differing in no respect from the rest of mankind, let us now briefly discuss this question also.
- 2 Now though the brightness of the presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ but recently shone forth upon all men, it is acknowledged that a new nation has all of a sudden appeared at a time fixed in the secret counsels of God, a nation neither small nor weak nor established in some corner of the earth, but the most populous and god-fearing of all nations, indestructible and invincible in that it for ever receives the help that comes from God, a nation which has been honoured by all
- 3 with the name of Christ. At it one of the prophets, when he foresaw with the eye of the divine Spirit what would come to pass, was so astonished that he broke forth into these words :

Who hath heard such things ?
And who hath spoken thus ?
Was a land in travail for one day ?
And was a nation brought forth at once ?³

And the same prophet indicates after a fashion the name also that was to be, when he says,

And my servants shall be called by a new name,
Which shall be blessed upon the earth.⁴

¹ Ps. cx. 3 (LXX).

³ Isai. lxvi. 8.

² Heb. vii. 24.

⁴ Isai. lxxv. 15, 16.

- 4 And even though it is clear that we are recent in point of time, and that this undoubtedly *new name* of Christians has but lately become known among all nations, nevertheless we shall proceed to show as follows that our manner of life and mode of conduct, together with our religious principles, have not been just now invented by us, but from the first creation of man, so to speak, were established by the instinctive ideas
- 5 of those men of old whom God loved. The Hebrew nation is not recent; nay, it has been held in honour for its antiquity by all men, and to all men it is known. It is a fact that its books and writings speak within its pages of men of ancient times, scanty indeed and few in number, yet all the while excelling in piety and righteousness and every other virtue. Of these there were various examples before the Flood, while others came after it, for instance, some of the sons and descendants of Noah, yes and Abraham also, whom the children of the Hebrews boast as their own founder and fore-
- 6 father. All these, to whose righteousness witness has been borne, going back from Abraham to the first man, it would be no departure from the truth to style as Christians, in point
- 7 of fact if not in name. For surely, as regards the meaning of the name, that the Christian man should, through the knowledge and teaching of Christ, excel in self-mastery and righteousness, in stedfast conduct and manly virtue, in confession of piety towards the one and only God over all—all this
- 8 was their earnest endeavour no less than ours. They cared not, then, for bodily circumcision; neither do we: nor for the observance of sabbaths; neither do we: nay, nor for the abstention from certain kinds of food, nor for distinctions in other matters, the symbolic observance of which Moses was the very first to commit to subsequent generations; neither do Christians now observe such things. But they also knew clearly the Christ of God, since it has been shown before ¹ that He appeared to Abraham, gave divine instructions to Isaac, spoke to Israel, and held converse with Moses and the later
- 9 prophets. Hence you will find that those same men whom God loved have been deemed worthy of even the name of the Christ, according to the voice which speaks thus of them:
- 10 *Touch not my Christs, and do my prophets no harm.*² So then, it is evident that we must regard as the first and most ancient and primitive of all that religion which was discovered by Abraham and his followers, men dear to God, and which has lately been proclaimed to all nations through the teaching of the Christ.
- 11 But if we are told that Abraham received a long time afterwards the command of *circumcision*, at any rate it is declared that previous to this he had received testimony for the

¹ 2. 7, 9, 22.² Ps. cv. 15.

righteousness that is by *faith*; ¹ for thus the divine word speaks :

And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness.²

- 12 Such, then, was he before his circumcision, on the day when God (that is Christ Himself, the Word of God) manifested Himself to him, and in these words announced an oracle concerning those who should thereafter be justified in like manner as he :

And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed ; ³
and that

he shall become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him.⁴

- 13 And this we may note as having been fulfilled in us. For he had been *justified by faith* in the Word of God, the Christ, who appeared to him. He turned aside from the superstition of his fathers and the former error of his ways, confessed the supreme God as one and served Him, not with the formal worship of the subsequent *law* ⁵ of Moses, but with deeds of virtue ; and to such a one it was said that *all the families of the earth* ³ and *all the nations shall be blessed in him*.⁴ And in deeds clearer than words Abraham's form of godliness is manifestly practised at present by Christians, and by them alone, throughout the whole world.
- 15 What obstacle, then, can remain to prevent the acknowledgment that we, the followers of Christ, have one and the same mode of life and manner of religion as those friends of God in days of old ? So that we have shown that it is not recent and strange, but, if one must speak the truth, the first and only and true religion in perfect form, that which was committed to us by the teaching of Christ. And let this suffice.

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS (B.C. 44—A.D. 14)

Date of the Birth of Christ.

5. But come now, after this necessary preface to our proposed Ecclesiastical History, let us now enter upon our journey, as it were, starting from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh ; having called upon God the Father of the Word, and Him of whom we are speaking, even Jesus Christ our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, to aid and co-operate with the truth of our narrative.

¹ Rom. iv. 10, 11.

² Rom. iv. 3, cited from Gen. xv. 6.

³ Gen. xii. 3.

⁴ Gen. xviii. 18.

⁵ Rom. iii. 28.

- 2 It was, then, the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, **B.C. 2.** the twenty-eighth after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, with whom the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to a final end, in which our Saviour and Lord Jesus the Christ, in the days of the *first enrolment* at that time *when Quirinius was governor of Syria*,¹ was born, in accordance with the prophecies concerning Him, *in Bethlehem of Judæa*.²
- 3 And this enrolment under Quirinius is also mentioned by Flavius Josephus, the most distinguished historian among the Hebrews, who adds as well an account of the sect of the Galilæans which sprang up at the same time; which also our own writer Luke has mentioned in the Acts, as follows:

After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him: he also perished; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad.³

- 4 Now, in agreement with this, the writer we have mentioned, in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, adds the following, in these very words:

Now Quirinius, a member of the Senate, a man who had reached consular rank after having performed the other offices and passed through them all, and one who held a high position in other respects, came with a few men to Syria, being sent by Cæsar to hold the office of judge of the nation, and assessor of property.

- 5 And, a little further on, he says,

But Judas, a Gaulonite from a city called Gamala, took with him a Pharisee named Saddocus, and urged on a revolt; both of them saying that the assessment meant nothing but downright slavery; and exhorting the nation to the defence of their liberty.⁴

- 6 And in the second book of his Histories of the Jewish War he writes on the same matter as follows:

In his day a certain Galilæan named Judas stirred up his fellow-countrymen to revolt, reproaching them if they paid tribute to the Romans and tolerated mortal rulers after God.⁵

This is what Josephus says.

The Fulfilment of Gen. xlix. 10.

Now then also for the first time a person of foreign blood, Herod, received the kingdom of the Jewish nation; and thus the prophecy uttered by Moses received its fulfilment,⁶ which says that *there shall not be wanting a ruler from Judah*

¹ Luke ii. 2.

² Matt. ii. 1, 5, 6.

³ Acts v. 37.

⁴ Jos., *Ant.* xviii. i. 1 (1, 4).

⁵ Jos., *B.J.* ii. 8. 1 (118).

⁶ *Lit.* "determination," "limit."

nor a leader from his loins, until he come for whom it is reserved,
 2 who, as he also shows, will be *the expectation of nations*.¹ The words of the prediction were, to say the least, unfulfilled as long as they were permitted to live under rulers of their own nation, beginning from Moses himself and stretching right down to the reign of Augustus, in whose day for the first time a foreigner, Herod, was entrusted by the Romans with the rule over the Jews. He, according to the account of Josephus, was an Idumean by race on his father's side, and on his mother's an Arabian;² but according to Africanus (and he was no mean writer) those who are accurately informed as to his affairs state that *Antipater* (that is, his father) was *the son of a certain Herod of Ashkelon*, one of the *temple-slaves*, as they are
 3 called, of the temple of *Apollo*. This Antipater, having been taken *captive* when a little child by *Idumean robbers*, lived with them, because his father *was unable*, through poverty, to pay money down for him. Brought up in their customs, he was afterwards befriended by *Hyrchanus the Jewish high priest*.³ And Herod, who lived in the time of our Saviour, was this man's son.

4 When, therefore, the Jewish sovereignty had devolved upon such a man, *the expectation of the nations*⁴ was, conformably to the prophecy, already near, *at the doors*,⁵ inasmuch as from that time there was a cessation of those who had been their rulers and leaders in succession from Moses himself.
 5 Indeed, before their captivity and transportation to Babylon they were under kings, beginning with Saul, the first, and David. But before the kings they were governed by rulers, those who were called judges; who ruled after Moses and his
 6 successor Joshua. And after the return from Babylon they did not cease to employ an aristocratic form of government with an oligarchy (for the priests had charge of their affairs), until *Pompey* the Roman general appeared and besieged Jerusalem *in force*. He defiled the holy place, advancing as far as the innermost sanctuary of the temple; and him who by right of succession from his ancestors was both king and high priest up to that time (his name was *Aristobulus*) Pompey sent as a prisoner to Rome along with *his children*. He gave the *high-priesthood* to *Hyrchanus*, Aristobulus' brother, and made the whole Jewish nation from that day tributary to the
 7 Romans.⁶ So, to go no further, when *Hyrchanus*, the last to hold the high-priestly succession, *was taken captive* by *Parthians*,⁷ Herod was the first foreigner (as, indeed, I said)

¹ Gen. xlix. 10.² Jos., *Ant.* xiv. 7. 3 (121); *B.J.* i. 6. 2 (123).³ *Afric., Ep. ad Arist.* (7. 11 below).⁴ Gen. xlix. 10.⁵ Matt. xxiv. 33.⁶ Jos., *Ant.* xiv. 4. 1-4 (54 ff.), xx. 10 (244); *B.J.* i. 7. 6, 7 (152 ff.).⁷ Jos., *Ant.* xiv. 13. 10 (365); xv. 2. 1 (404); xx. 16 (245); *B.J.* i. 13. 5 (260).

to be entrusted by the Roman Senate and the Emperor Augustus
8 with the Jewish nation.¹ It is manifest that the coming of the
Christ took place in his day; and the expected salvation and
calling of the nations followed in accordance with the prophecy.

- From that time indeed the rulers and leaders of Judah,
I mean those of the Jewish nation, ceased; and as a natural
consequence their high-priesthood, which from their ancestors
had descended in orderly fashion to the nearest successors
according to family, was immediately thrown into confusion.
9 Of these facts also you have a trustworthy witness in Josephus,
who shows that *Herod*, when he received the kingdom at the
hands of the Romans, no longer appointed the high priests from
the ancient lineage, but assigned the honour to certain obscure
persons. And, with reference to the appointment of the priests,
a course of action similar to Herod's was taken by Archelaus,
his son, and after him by the Romans, when they had taken over
10 the government of the Jews.² And the same writer tells us that
Herod had been the first to cause even the high priest's sacred
robe to be shut up under his private seal; and did not allow
the high priests to keep it any longer in their own possession.
And that Archelaus also, and after him the Romans, did the same.³
11 These things I have stated in order to prove that another
prophecy had its accomplishment in the appearing of our
Saviour Jesus Christ.

Thus in the book of Daniel the Scripture very clearly lays down
an express number of certain *weeks* (concerning which we have
treated distinctly elsewhere) ⁴ until Christ rules, and prophesies
that after the accomplishment of these the *unction* among the
Jews will be utterly destroyed.⁵ And this is clearly shown as
fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
We have been obliged to premise these remarks in order to set
forth the correctness of the time.

Africanus on the Genealogies of Christ.

7. But since Matthew and Luke in writing their Gospels have
presented to us the genealogy of Christ in different forms, and
most people imagine that they are discordant; and since every
believer through ignorance of the truth has been eager to
multiply words on these passages, we must quote the account
of them that has come down to us, which Africanus, of whom
we spoke a short time ago,⁶ mentions in a letter he wrote to
Aristides on the harmony of the genealogy in the Gospels.
Having refuted the opinions of the others as unnatural and

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xiv. 14. 4 (385); xx. 10 (247); *B.J.* i. 14. 4 (284).

² Jos., *Ant.* xx. 10 (247, 249).

³ *Ib.* xviii. 4. 3 (92 f.); cp. xv. 11. 4 (403 ff.); xx. 1. 1 (6 ff.).

⁴ Eus. *Ecl. Proph.* iii. 45. ⁵ Dan. ix. 25, 26 (Theod.). ⁶ 6. 2.

utterly mistaken, he *sets forth the account* he himself had received,¹ in these very words :

- 2 For inasmuch as the names of the families in Israel used to be numbered either by nature or by law : by nature, when there was actual offspring to succeed ; but by law, when another begat a son in the name of his brother who had died childless² (for as no clear hope of a resurrection had as yet been given, they represented the future promise under the figure of a mortal resurrection, so that the name of the departed one might never cease to exist)—
- 3 since, then, as regards those included in this genealogy, some succeeded by natural descent, the son to the father, while others, though born to one father, were assigned by name to another, mention was made of both, those who had [actually] begotten
- 4 sons, as well as those regarded as having begotten them. Thus neither of the Gospels says what is untrue, since there is a reckoning both by nature and by law. For the families, namely that which took its descent from Solomon and that from Nathan, became so mutually involved, by resurrections of childless men and second marriages and resurrection of offspring, that the same persons were justly considered to belong at one time to one, at another to another : now to their reputed fathers, now to their actual. So that both accounts are in accordance with the exact truth, and descend to Joseph in a complex, yet accurate, manner.
- 5 But to make clear what has been said, I shall give an account of the interchange of the families. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is found to be *Matthan*, who *begat Jacob*,³ the father of Joseph. But if from *Nathan the son of David*⁴ according to Luke the third from the end was, similarly, *Melchi*. For *Joseph was the son of Heli*, the
- 6 *son of Melchi*.⁵ Joseph being, then, the object at which we aim, we must show how each of the two is recorded to be his father : namely Jacob, tracing his descent from Solomon, and Heli from Nathan ; and, before that, how these same persons, namely Jacob and Heli, were two brothers ; and, before that again, how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, though of different families,
- 7 are declared to be Joseph's grandfathers. Well then, both Matthan and Melchi, marrying in turn the same wife, begat children who were brothers by the same mother, for the law does not prevent a widow marrying another, whether she be divorced
- 8 or her husband be dead. So then from Estha (for tradition asserts that this was the woman's name) first Matthan, who traced down his family from Solomon, begat Jacob ; and, on the death of Matthan, Melchi, who traced his descent back to Nathan, married the widow, being of the same tribe but another family, as I said
- 9 before ; and of her had a son Heli. Thus we shall find Jacob and Heli brothers with the same mother, though of two different families ; of whom the former, Jacob, on the death without issue of his brother Heli, took his wife and from her in the third place [from Estha] begat Joseph, who according to nature was his own son (and also according to Scripture : for it is written, *and Jacob*

¹ Afric., *ad Arist.* (Reichardt, p. 53).

² Cp. Gen. xxxviii. 8 ; Deut. xxv. 6 ; Luke xx. 28.

³ Matt. i. 15.

⁴ Luke iii. 31.

⁵ Luke iii. 23, 24.

- begat Joseph*); ¹ but according to law he was the son of Heli. For
- 10 Jacob, being his brother, *raised up seed* ² to Heli. Therefore also the genealogy traced through him will not be rendered void, though in reckoning it Matthew the evangelist says: *and Jacob begat Joseph*; ¹ and Luke on the other hand: Who was, *as was supposed* (for indeed he adds this), *the son of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi*.³ For he could not express more distinctly the descent according to law, and he abstains from using the word “begat” with reference to this kind of procreation right up to the end, tracing the genealogy up to *Adam, the son of God*,⁴ backwards.
- 11 Nor is this a rash interpretation or incapable of proof. At all events, the Saviour’s kinsmen according to the flesh, whether stirred by the love of advertisement or by the single desire to instruct—in any case telling the truth—have handed down this tradition also. [They say] that Idumean robbers attacked Ashkelon, a city in Palestine, and from an idol temple of Apollo, which was built near the walls, carried away captive, along with the rest of their spoils, Antipater the son of a certain Herod a temple-slave. And since the priest was unable to pay down a ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs of the Idumeans, and was afterwards befriended by Hyrcanus the high
- 12 priest of Judæa. He went as an ambassador to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus, and having freed for him his kingdom from the grasp of his brother Aristobulus, he fell in with good fortune, and bore the title of superintendent of Palestine. Antipater’s great good fortune cost him envy; he was treacherously murdered, and succeeded by his son Herod, who afterwards by a decree of the Senate under Antony and Augustus was chosen to be king of the Jews. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. These facts, indeed, are also the common property of the histories of the Greeks.
- 13 But there were still kept on record in their archives the genealogies of the Hebrews and of those who traced their origin back to proselytes, such as Achior the Ammonite ⁵ and *Ruth the Moabitess* ⁶ and the *mixed multitude* which came forth together with them from Egypt. So Herod, since the lineage of the Israelites contributed nothing to his advantage, and he was smitten by the consciousness of his lowly birth, burnt the registers of their families; for he thought that he would appear nobly born if no one else were able from a public record to trace his family back to the patriarchs or to proselytes, and the *mixed multitude*
- 14 called *Giorae*.⁷ A few careful people had private records of their own, either having remembered the names or otherwise securing them from copies; who prided themselves on preserving the memory of their noble birth. Of such were the persons mentioned above,⁸ called Desposyni from their connexion with the Saviour’s family. Coming from the Jewish villages of Nazareth and Cochaba, they travelled over the rest of the land, explaining the aforesaid genealogy, as far as they could trace it, [from records
- 15 and memory] and from the Book of the Days. Whether, then, it be so or otherwise, no clearer explanation could be found, as I and every fair-minded person consider; and we should be content

¹ Matt. i. 16.² Gen. xxxviii. 8.³ Luke iii. 23, 24.⁴ Luke iii. 38.⁵ Judith v. 5; xiv. 10.⁶ Ruth i. 16; ii. 2.⁷ Ex. xii. 19, 38.⁸ § 11

with it, even though it be unattested, for it is impossible to state a better or truer one. In fact the Gospel speaks the absolute truth.

- 16 And at the close of the same letter he adds as follows :

Matthan, who traced his descent from Solomon, begat Jacob. On the death of Matthan, Melchi, who traced his descent from Nathan, of the same wife begat Heli. Therefore Heli and Jacob were brothers with the same mother. Heli having died childless, Jacob raised up seed to him, and begat Joseph, who was by nature his own son, but by law Heli's. Thus Joseph was the son of both.

- 17 So much for Africanus. Moreover, now that the genealogy of Joseph is thus traced, Mary also has been virtually shown to belong to the same tribe as he, since according to the law of Moses intermarrying between different tribes was not permitted. For the command is to join in wedlock *with one of those from the same town and the same clan*, so that *the inheritance of the family should not remove from tribe to tribe*.¹ Thus, then, may these matters stand.

The Eastern Magi.

8. But indeed, *when the Christ was born*, agreeably to the prophecies, *in Bethlehem of Judæa* at the aforesaid time, Herod was not a little disturbed by the enquiry of the *wise men from the east*, who asked where he was *that was born King of the Jews*, for that they had *seen his star*, and for that reason had undertaken so long a journey in their earnest desire to *worship* as God Him that was born—Herod, I say, was not a little disturbed thereat, inasmuch as his throne was endangered, or so at least he thought. He *enquired*, therefore, of the doctors of the law among the nation *where they expected the Christ to be born*.² And when he became aware of the prophecy of Micah predicting Bethlehem,³ by a single decree he commanded that *the male children at the breast in Bethlehem and in all the borders thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time carefully learned by him of the wise men*, should be *slain*.⁴ For he supposed (as he might well do) that doubtless Jesus also would share a like fate with those of His own age.
- 2 Nevertheless the Child was conveyed into Egypt, and so escaped the plot, His parents being forewarned of what was impending by the appearance of an angel.⁵

The Divine Judgment on Herod.

- Such, then, is the account given by the sacred book of the
3 Gospel. But it is worth while in addition to observe the

¹ Num. xxxvi. 7, 8.

³ Mic. v. 2 (Matt. ii. 6).

⁵ Matt. ii. 13, 14.

² Matt. ii. 1, 2, 4.

⁴ Matt. ii. 16.

wages that Herod received for his act of daring against the Christ and those of His age : how that straightway, without even a slight delay, the divine Justice overtook him while still alive, to give him a foretaste of what was awaiting him after
 4 his departure hence. It is not possible to recount here how, indeed, he sullied the supposed *prosperity* of his reign by the successive calamities which overtook *his house* : by the murder of wife, children and other members of his family who were his *nearest* and dearest. Before such a subject every tragic drama pales ; and Josephus has fully treated it in his *Histories*.¹
 5 But how a scourge wielded by a hand divine descended and drove him on to death, just when he plotted against our Saviour and the other infants, can best be learnt from the words of that historian also, who in the seventeenth book of the Jewish Antiquities writes thus of the end of his life, in these very words :

But Herod's disease attacked him more severely, a requital
 6 exacted by God for his wrong-doings. For indeed he suffered from a slow fire, which did not so much betray its burning heat to the touch as it increased the trouble internally. He had a terrible longing for food, which could in no way be satisfied. His intestines were ulcerated, and the colon especially attacked by terrible pains ; and a running transparent humour settled on his
 7 feet. He suffered also from similar trouble in his abdomen. Aye indeed, his privy parts were putrefied, and gave forth worms ; his breathing was only accomplished with difficulty and in an upright position, and the heavy odour and quick respiration made it exceedingly unpleasant. Every part of him was convulsed, so
 8 that he became possessed of uncontrollable strength. So it used to be said by those who practised divinations and such as were possessed of wisdom to foretell these events, that God was exacting a penalty from the king for his great impiety.²

Such is the conclusion drawn by the aforesaid writer in the
 9 said work. And in the second of the *Histories* he gives a similar account concerning the same person, writing somewhat as follows :

From that time the disease seized upon his body as a whole, over which it apportioned divers sufferings. A gentle fever attacked him ; an intolerable itching spread over the entire surface of the body ; the colon was racked with incessant pains ; his feet swelled as with dropsy ; the abdomen was inflamed ; the privy parts became putrid and bred worms ; and, in addition, he could breathe only in an upright position and then with difficulty ; and he had convulsions in all his limbs, so that those who practised divinations said that his disorders were a penalty.
 10 But although he was struggling with these terrible sufferings, he nevertheless clung to life, hoped for recovery and bethought him of cures. For instance, crossing the Jordan he used the hot

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xv. 6 (161 ff.) ; 7 (202 ff.) ; xvi. 11 (356 ff.) ; *B.J.* i. 22. 5 (443 ff.) ; 27. 6 (550 f.).

² Jos., *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5 (168 ff.).

springs of Callirrhoe, which flow into Lake Asphaltites, but are
 11 sweet enough even to drink. There the physicians decided to
 warm his whole body with hot oil, by letting him down into a tub
 filled with it. But he grew weak and turned up his eyes like a
 person in a faint.¹ However, he revived at the sound of the
 commotion which his attendants made; and henceforth despair-
 ing of recovery ordered fifty drachmas apiece to be given to the
 12 soldiers, and large money to his generals and friends. He himself
 returned and came to Jericho, in a state of melancholy and all
 but uttering threats at death itself. Then he proceeded to devise
 an unhallowed deed. Collecting the notable men from each
 village in all Judæa, he commanded them to be shut up in the
 13 hippodrome, as it is called. Then summoning Salome his sister
 and her husband Alexas, he said: "I know that the Jews will
 celebrate my death by a festival; but I may be mourned by
 others and have a splendid funeral, if you are willing to carry out
 my commands. The moment I have breathed my last, surround
 these men who are kept under guard with soldiers, and kill them;
 that all Judæa and every house may weep because of me, even in
 spite of themselves." ²

14 And shortly afterwards he says,

And again (for indeed he was racked by want of food and a
 convulsive cough), when the pains mastered him,³ he planned to
 anticipate Fate. Taking an apple, he asked for a knife as well.
 For it was his custom to cut as he ate. Then, looking round to see
 that there was no one to hinder him, he raised his right hand as if
 to stab himself.⁴

15 Moreover, the same writer records that just before the end
 of his life he ordered the death of another lawful son of his
 (this was the third, for two had already been put to death);
 and that straightway the thread of life was severed, not
 without great pain.⁵

Archelaus.

16 Such, then, was the last end of Herod, who paid a just
 penalty for the children whom he slew round about Bethlehem,
 to further his design against our Saviour. After this *an angel*
 appeared *in a dream to Joseph* while he was staying *in Egypt*,
 and bade him depart with the child *and His mother* into
 Judæa, revealing that *they are dead that sought the young child's*
*life.*⁶ And then the evangelist goes on to say:

But when he heard that Archelaus was reigning in the room of
 Herod his father, he was afraid to go thither; and being warned
 of God in a dream, he withdrew into the parts of Galilee.⁷

¹ The text of Eusebius in this section is doubtful.

² Jos., *B.J.* i. 33. 5, 6 (656 ff.).

³ Reading *ἡσσηθείς*, with some MSS. of Josephus, for *ἡσθείς*.

⁴ Jos., *B.J.* i. 33, 7 (662).

⁵ *Ib.* (663 f.); *Ant.* xvii. 7 (185 ff.).

⁶ Matt. ii. 19, 20.

⁷ Matt. ii. 22.

9. And the aforesaid historian agrees with [the evangelist] that Archelaus was appointed to the government after Herod; and he describes the way in which the will of Herod his father and the approval of Cæsar Augustus gave him the succession to the kingdom over the Jews; and how, when he fell from the government after ten years' time, his brothers *Philip and Herod* the younger, together with Lysanias, ruled *their own tetrarchies*.¹

REIGN OF TIBERIUS (14-37)

Date of Pilate : Forged Acts of Pilate.

- 2 The same writer tells us in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities that in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius* 36. (for he *succeeded* to the supreme government after Augustus had held *the principate for fifty-seven years*) Pontius Pilate was entrusted with Judæa, and that he remained there 3 for *ten entire years*, almost until the death of Tiberius.² Therefore the forgery of those who the other day published Memoirs against our Saviour is clearly proved; in which the very date noted at the beginning proves the falsity of those who forged 4 them. The things they have dared to state about the Saviour's Passion are placed, I say, in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, that is, the seventh year of his reign; at which time it is shown that Pilate was not yet in charge of Judæa, if at least we may use the testimony of Josephus, who plainly indicates in his aforesaid work that in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius Pilate was appointed procurator of Judæa by that emperor.

The Period of Christ's Teaching.

10. So then, in the time of these men, *in the fifteenth year*, according to the evangelist, *of Tiberius Cæsar*, in the fourth of Pontius Pilate's governorship, when *Herod and Lysanias and Philip were tetrarchs* ³ of the rest of Judæa, our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God, *when beginning to be about thirty years of age*,⁴ came to the baptism of John,⁵ and then 2 made a beginning of His *preaching of the Gospel*.⁶ Now the divine Scripture says that He passed the entire time of His teaching *in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas*; ⁷ thus showing that the whole period during which He taught was completed within the years bounded by these men's ministry. Since He began, then, during the high-priesthood of Annas

¹ Jos., *B.J.* i. 33. 8 (668); ii. 6. 3 (93 f.); 7. 3 (111); 9. 1 (167); *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1, 2 (188 ff.); 11. 4 (317 f.); 13. 2 (342 ff.).

² Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2; 4. 2 (32, 33, 35, 89).

³ Luke iii. 1.

⁴ Luke iii. 23.

⁵ Matt. iii. 13.

⁶ Cp. Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 14.

⁷ Luke iii. 2.

and remained until the rule of Caiaphas, the intervening period
 3 is not a full four years. For indeed the ordinances which were
 under the law had from that time been already abolished;
 and that system was done away with, by which all that
 appertained to the service of God was a charge for life, held by
 hereditary succession; on the contrary, the Roman governors
 assigned *the high-priesthood* now to one, now to another, and
 4 these continued in office *not more* than one year. At all events
 Josephus records that there were four high priests in succession
 from Annas to Caiaphas, speaking somewhat on this fashion
 in the same book of the Antiquities :

. . . Valerius Gratus . . . deposed Ananus from acting as
 priest, and appointed Ishmael the son of Phabi high priest; but
 removed him not long afterwards, and nominated as high priest
 5 Eleazar the son of Ananus the high priest. However, when a
 year had passed, he deposed him too, and handed the high-
 priesthood over to Simon the son of Camithus. But he likewise
 held office for no more than a year; and Joseph, who was also
 called Caiaphas, succeeded him.¹

6 So, then, it has been shown that the whole period of our
 Saviour's teaching did not comprise a full four years; four
 high priests, from Annas to the appointment of Caiaphas,
 having completed a ministry of a year apiece in four years.
 In fact, the book of the Gospel has noted that *Caiaphas* was
high priest, as we might expect, that *year* in which the events
 of the Saviour's Passion took place;² from which also it is
 shown that the period of Christ's teaching is in harmony with
 the foregoing investigation.

The Call of the Twelve and of the Seventy.

7 But indeed our Saviour and Lord, not very long after His
 preaching began, called *the twelve apostles, whom* alone He
 honoured, above the rest of His disciples, in an especial
 manner by so *naming* them;³ and, on another occasion, He
appointed seventy others, whom also He *sent two and two before his*
*face into every place and city, whither he himself was about to come.*⁴

John the Baptist.

11. But the divine book of the Gospels mentions that John the
 Baptist was beheaded by the younger Herod not long after
 this.⁵ And Josephus also records the same fact, mentioning
 Herodias by name, and how *Herod* married her though she was
 his brother's *wife*, having put away his former lawful wife

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2 (33 ff.).

² John xi. 49; xviii. 13; cp. Matt. xxvi. 3, 57; John xviii. 24, 28.

³ Matt. x. 1; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13.

⁴ Luke x. 1. ⁵ Matt. xiv. 10; Mark vi. 27.

(who was the *daughter of Aretas king of Petræa*), and separated Herodias from her husband who was alive; and that on her account also he put John to death and went to *war with Aretas*,
 2 whose daughter he had dishonoured. And he says that *in a battle which took place* in this war *Herod's whole army was destroyed*, and that this disaster was due to the designs against
 3 John.¹ And the same Josephus acknowledges that John was without a superior in righteousness and a *baptist*; ² and thus his testimony agrees with what is written in the book of the Gospels concerning him; and he also records the fact that Herod lost his kingdom on account of the same Herodias, and that he was driven into exile along with her, and condemned to make
 4 Vienne, *a city of Gaul*, his home.³ This information Josephus has given us in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes thus concerning John, using these very words:

. . . but to some of the Jews it seemed that Herod's army had been destroyed by God, as a most just requital for John who was
 5 called the Baptist. For Herod put him to death, a good man who bade the Jews practise virtue, use ⁴ righteous dealings among themselves and piety towards God, and so come together for baptism; for [he held] that thus indeed would the immersion appear acceptable to Him, when men used it not to secure pardon for certain sins, but to purify the body: inasmuch as the soul
 6 had already been cleansed by righteousness. And when the others rallied round him (for indeed they were greatly excited on listening to his words), Herod became fearful lest his great powers of persuasion with men might lead to some form of revolt (for they seemed disposed to do anything at his advice). So he thought it much better to anticipate any revolutionary action on John's part by killing him, than to repent when involved in the difficulties of an insurrection. Therefore, because of Herod's suspicion, John was sent a prisoner to Machærus—the fortress we mentioned before—and there put to death.⁵

The Statement of Josephus about Jesus.

7 Such is the account he gives of John. And he mentions our Saviour also in the same narrative in the treatise, somewhat after this fashion:

Now there lived about this time Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one may call him a man. For he was a doer of marvellous works, a teacher of such men as receive what is true with pleasure; and many of the Jews, and many also of the Greeks, he won over to
 8 himself. This was the Christ; and after that Pilate had condemned him to the cross on the indictment of the chief men among us, they who had loved him at the first did not cease [to do so]. For he appeared on the third day to them, living again, the divine prophets having stated these and countless other marvels concerning him. And even now the tribe of the Christians, named after him, has not become extinct.⁶

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1, 2 (109 ff.).

² *Ib.* 5. 2 (§ 4 below).

³ *Ib.* 7. 2 (252 ff.).

⁴ Reading *χρωμένους* with some MSS.

⁵ Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 5. 2 (116 ff.).

⁶ *Ib.* 3. 3 (63 f.).

- 9 When a writer belonging to the Hebrews themselves has transmitted from primitive times in a work of his own this record concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what excuse can there be for not convicting as shameless those who forged the Memoirs against them? However, let this suffice here.

The Apostles and the Seventy Disciples.

12. But to resume. It is clear to everyone from the Gospels what are the names of the apostles of the Saviour.¹ But no list of the seventy disciples² is extant anywhere; Barnabas, however, is said³ to have been one of them, whom also the Acts of the Apostles has mentioned in various places;⁴ and, especially, Paul too, when writing to the Galatians.⁵ And it is said that Sosthenes also was of their number, he who wrote,⁶ along with Paul, to the Corinthians;⁷ and this is the record of Clement in the fifth book of the Hypotyposeis; in which also he says that Cephas (of whom Paul says, *But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face*⁷) was one of the seventy disciples, being of the same name as Peter the³ apostle. And of Matthias too, who was numbered among the apostles in the place of Judas, and of him who was honoured by being voted on along with Matthias,⁸ it is recorded that they were deemed worthy of the same calling—that of the Seventy. And it is said that Thaddæus was also one of them;⁹ concerning whom I shall presently recount a story that has come⁴ down to us.¹⁰ And upon examination you will find that there were evidently disciples of the Saviour over and above the Seventy, if you take the testimony of Paul, who said that after the rising from the dead *He appeared first to Cephas; afterwards to the twelve; and after them to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom he stated that some had fallen asleep, but that the greater part remained still alive at the time of*⁵ writing. And *afterwards*, he says, *He appeared to James*. The same was one of the Saviour's brethren, as they were called. Then—since besides these there were very many apostles indeed, in imitation of the Twelve, as also was Paul himself—he adds thus: *Afterwards He appeared to all the apostles*.¹¹

Thaddæus and Abgar.

13. So much, then, for this. But the story about Thaddæus runs as follows. When the divinity of our Lord and Saviour

¹ Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 16-19; Luke vi. 14-16.

² Luke x. 1.

³ Clem., *Hypot.* vii (ii. 1. 4 below).

⁴ Acts iv. 36; ix. 27; xi. 22, 30; xii. 25; xiii-xv.

⁵ Gal. ii. 1, 13.

⁶ 1 Cor. i. 1.

⁷ Gal. ii. 11.

⁸ Acts i. 23, 26.

⁹ *Thaddæus Legend* (13. 11 below).

¹⁰ c. 13.

¹¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5-7.

- Jesus Christ became noised abroad among all men, thanks to His wonder-working power, it attracted countless numbers even of persons in foreign lands very far distant from Judæa, who hoped to be cured of diseases and all kinds of disorders.
- 2 So it came about that when king Abgar, a most illustrious potentate of the nations beyond the Euphrates, being wasted by a terrible bodily *disorder*, incurable as far as human power goes, heard of the fame of Jesus' name and the unanimous testimony paid by all to His mighty works, he sent Him a message of entreaty by a despatch-bearer, asking that he
- 3 might be delivered from his disease. But Jesus did not at that time hearken to his request; howbeit He deemed him worthy of a personal letter, promising to *send one of His disciples to heal his disease* and, at the same time, bring
- 4 salvation to him and all who belonged to him.¹ And not long afterwards, it would seem, He fulfilled that which He had promised. At all events, *after* His resurrection from the dead and His ascent into the heavens, *Thomas*, one of the twelve apostles, was moved by a divine impulse to send forth *Thaddæus*—he too had been reckoned *among the seventy disciples of Christ*—to Edessa as a *herald* and evangelist of the teaching concerning Christ. And through him all that our Saviour had promised received its fulfilment.²
- 5 You have the proof of these facts also in writing, taken from the record office at Edessa, then a city ruled by kings. Thus, in the public documents there, which contain ancient matters and those connected with Abgar, these things have been found preserved from that day until now. But there is nothing like hearing the letters themselves, taken by us from the archives and literally translated from the Syriac, as follows :

Copy of a letter written by Abgar the Toparch to Jesus, and sent to Him at Jerusalem by the hand of Ananias a courier.

- 6 Abgar Uchama, toparch, to Jesus, gracious Saviour, who has appeared in the region of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard of thee and of thy cures as having been wrought by thee without medicines or herbs. For by a word³ thou dost make *the blind to receive their sight, the lame to walk, and dost cleanse the lepers*, cast out unclean *spirits* and devils, *heal*⁴ them that are
- 7 *tormented*⁵ with long sickness, and *raise up the dead*.⁴ And when I heard all this concerning thee, I was convinced of one of two things : either that thou art God and doest these things, having come down from heaven ; or that, because thou doest them, thou
- 8 art the Son of God. Therefore for this cause I write and beseech thee to trouble thyself to come to me and heal the disorder which I have. For verily I have heard that even the Jews are murmur-

¹ *Thad. Leg.* (§§ 6–10 below).

² *Ib.* (§§ 11–20).

³ Following the Syr.

⁴ Luke vii. 21, 22.

⁵ Matt. viii. 6.

ing at thee and wish to do thee harm. But I have a very small city, yet a stately one; which will suffice us both.

- 9 The written reply of Jesus to the Toparch Abgar [sent] by the hand of the courier Ananias.
- 10 *Blessed art thou who didst believe in me, not having seen me.*¹ For it is written of me that they who have seen me will not believe in me, even that they who have not seen me may themselves believe and live.² But as to that which thou didst write to me, that I should come to thee, I must fulfil all things for the which I was sent hither; and having fulfilled them, be *received up*³ immediately to him that sent me.⁴ And when I am received up, I will send thee one of my disciples, to heal thy disorder and bestow life on thee and those with thee.
- 11 To these letters there is also subjoined the following, in the Syriac language :
- Now after *Jesus was received up*,³ Judas, who was also called Thomas, sent unto him Thaddæus the apostle, one of the Seventy; who came and lodged with Tobias the son of Tobias. And when the news concerning him was heard, it was told Abgar, saying, "An apostle of Jesus is come hither, even as He wrote to thee."
- 12 Thaddæus, then, *began in the power of God to heal all manner of disease and sickness*,⁵ so that *all wondered*. But when Abgar heard the mighty and *wonderful things that he did*,⁶ and how he healed, he suspected that it was he of whom Jesus wrote, saying, "When I am received up, I will send thee one of my disciples,"
- 13 who will heal thy disorder." He sent, therefore, for Tobias, with whom Thaddæus lodged, and said : "I have heard that a powerful man is come to lodge in thy house; bring him to me." So Tobias came to Thaddæus and said to him : "The toparch Abgar sent for me and bade me bring thee to him, that thou mightest heal him." Thaddæus replied : "I go before him; for I have
- 14 been sent unto him with power." So the next day Tobias rose up early, and took with him Thaddæus and came to Abgar. And when he appeared before him, his lords being present and standing round, immediately on his entry a great vision appeared to Abgar in the face of the apostle Thaddæus. Which when he saw, Abgar did obeisance to Thaddæus; and all they that stood by were filled with amazement : for they had not seen the vision, which
- 15 appeared to Abgar alone. He also asked Thaddæus : "Art thou of a truth a disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who said to me : 'I will send thee one of my disciples, who will heal thee and bestow upon thee life'?" And Thaddæus said : "Since thou hast mightily believed on Him that sent me, it was for this cause that I was sent unto thee. And moreover, if thou shalt believe on Him, even *as thou believest so shall the petitions of thine heart*
- 16 be granted."⁷ And Abgar made him reply : "Such was my

¹ Cp. John xx. 29.

² Cp. Isai. vi. 9 ff.; Matt. xiii. 14 ff.; John xii. 39 ff.

³ Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

⁴ Cp. John xvi. 5, etc.

⁵ Matt. ix. 35, etc.; Mark v. 20.

⁶ Matt. xxi. 15.

⁷ Matt. viii. 13; Ps. xxxvii. 4.

- belief in Him, that I even wished to take an army and destroy the Jews who crucified Him; howbeit I was checked from so doing by reason of the rule of the Romans." And Thaddæus said: "Our Lord hath fulfilled His Father's will; and having fulfilled
- 17 it was received up to His Father." Abgar said to him: "I also have believed on Him and on His Father." Thaddæus replied: "Therefore, I lay my hand upon thee in His name." And when he had done this, immediately he was healed of the disease and
- 18 disorder which he had. And Abgar was astonished that as he had heard concerning Jesus, so did he receive in very deed at the hand of His disciple Thaddæus; who healed him without the use of medicine or herbs, and not him alone but also Abdu the son of Abdu, who had gout. This man also came forward and fell at his feet; and was healed by his prayers with the imposition of his hand. And many others of their fellow-citizens were cured by Thaddæus, who did wonderful and mighty works, and preached the word of God.
- 19 Now after this Abgar said: "Thou, Thaddæus, doest these things by the power of God; and we ourselves did marvel. But besides all this, I beseech thee, declare unto me concerning the coming of Jesus, how it took place; and concerning His power; and by what power He did such things as I have heard tell of."
- 20 Then Thaddæus said: "Now indeed I will keep silence; but since I was sent to preach the word, to-morrow assemble me all thy citizens, and I will preach before them, and sow in them the word of life: namely, concerning the coming of Jesus, how it took place; concerning His mission, and why He was sent by the Father; concerning His power and works, and the mysteries which He spake in the world, and by what power He did these things; concerning His new preaching; concerning His littleness and humiliation; and how *he humbled himself*, and put aside and belittled His divinity; was crucified; ¹ descended into Hades and rent asunder the barrier which from eternity had never been rent, and raised up the dead, and though He descended alone, yet ascended with a great multitude to His Father."
- 21 So then, Abgar bade his citizens assemble at dawn and hear the preaching of Thaddæus . . . and, after that, he ordered that gold and silver ² should be given him. But he would not accept it, saying: "If we have left our own, how shall we take that which
- 22 is another's?" These things took place in the three hundred and fortieth year.

Let this, then, translated literally from the Syriac language, be inserted here in its proper place, and, I trust, to some purpose.

¹ Phil. ii. 8.

² ἀσημιον: ep. Job xlii. 11 (LXX).

BOOK VI

The Sixth Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following :

1. On the persecution under Severus.
2. On Origen's training from boyhood.
3. How he set forth the word of Christ when quite young.
4. How many of those instructed by him were elevated to the rank of martyrs.
5. On Potamiæna.
6. On Clement the Alexandrian.
7. On Judas, a writer.
8. On Origen's rash act.
9. On the miracles of Narcissus.
10. On the bishops at Jerusalem.
11. On Alexander.
12. On Serapion and his extant works.
13. On the treatises of Clement.
14. What Scriptures he mentioned.
15. On Heraclas.
16. How Origen laboured at the divine Scriptures.
17. On Symmachus the translator.
18. On Ambrose.
19. What things are mentioned concerning Origen.
20. What books of the men of that day are extant.
21. What bishops were well known in the time of these persons.
22. What works of Hippolytus have reached us.
23. On Origen's zeal, and how he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate in the Church.
24. The commentaries he wrote at Alexandria.
25. How he mentioned the Canonical Scriptures.
26. How the bishops regarded him.
27. How Heraclas succeeded to the episcopate of the Alexandrians.
28. On the persecution under Maximin.
29. On Fabian, how he was miraculously designated bishop of the Romans by God.
30. What pupils of Origen there have been.
31. On Africanus.
32. The commentaries that Origen wrote at Cæsarea in Palestine.
33. On the error of Beryllus.
34. What happened under Philip.
35. How Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in the episcopate.
36. Other works composed by Origen.
37. On the dissension of the Arabians.
38. On the heresy of the Helkesaites.
39. On what happened under Decius.
40. On what befell Dionysius.
41. On those that suffered martyrdom at Alexandria itself.
42. On the other martyrdoms which Dionysius relates.
43. On Novatus, his manner of life, and his heresy.
44. A story of Dionysius about Serapion.
45. Letter of Dionysius to Novatus.
46. On the other letters of Dionysius.

The Youth of Origen.

1. Now when Severus also was stirring up persecution against the churches, in every place splendid martyrdoms of the champions of piety were accomplished, but with especial frequency at Alexandria. Thither, as to some great arena, were escorted from Egypt and the whole Thebais God's champions, who, through their most steadfast endurance in divers tortures and modes of death, were wreathed with the crowns laid up with God. Among these was Leonides, known as "the father of Origen," who was beheaded, leaving his son behind him quite young. It will not be out of place to describe briefly how deliberately his mind was set on the Divine Word from that early age, especially as the story about him has received exceedingly widespread notoriety. Many things, indeed, would there be to say, if one were to attempt at leisure to hand down in writing the man's life, and the narrative concerning him would require also a work of its own. Nevertheless, on the present occasion abridging most things as briefly as may be, we shall state some few of the facts concerning him, gathering what we set forth from certain letters and information derived from pupils of his, whose lives have been preserved even to our day.
2. In the case of Origen I think that even the facts from his very cradle,¹ so to speak, are worthy of mention. For Severus was in the tenth year of his reign, and Lætus was governor
203. of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and Demetrius had just then received the episcopate of the communities
3 there in succession to Julian. When, therefore, the flame of persecution was kindled to a fierce blaze, and countless numbers were being wreathed with the crowns of martyrdom, Origen's soul was possessed with such a passion for martyrdom, while he was still quite a boy, that he was all eagerness to come to close quarters with danger, and to leap forward and
4 rush into the conflict. In fact, it were but a very little step and the end of his life was at hand, had not the divine and heavenly Providence, acting for the general good through his
5 mother, stood in the way of his zeal. She, at all events, at first had recourse to verbal entreaties, bidding him spare a mother's feelings; then, when he learnt that his father had been captured and was kept in prison, and his whole being was set on the desire for martyrdom, perceiving that his purpose

¹ Lit. "swaddling-clothes."

was more resolute than ever, she hid all his clothes, and so laid
 6 upon him the necessity of remaining at home. And since
 nothing else remained for him to do, and a zeal, intense beyond
 his years, suffered him not to be quiet, he sent to his father
 a letter on martyrdom most strongly urging him on, in which
 he advises him in these very words, saying :

Take care not to change thy mind on our account.

Let this be recorded as the first proof of Origen's boyish
 7 readiness of mind and genuine love of godliness. For indeed
 in the study of the faith also he had already laid down a
 good foundation, having been trained in the divine Scriptures
 from the time that he was still a boy. Certainly it was no
 ordinary amount of labour that he bestowed on these, since
 his father, in addition to the customary curriculum, took pains
 that these also should be for him no secondary matter.
 8 On all occasions, for example, before he applied himself to
 his secular ¹ lessons, he kept urging him to train himself in the
 sacred studies, exacting from him each day learning by heart
 9 and repetition. And this the boy did with no lack of willing-
 ness, nay, he worked with even excessive zeal at these studies,
 so that he was not satisfied with reading the sacred words in a
 simple and literal manner, but sought something further, and
 busied himself, even at that age, with deeper speculations,
 troubling his father by his questions as to what could be the
 10 inner meaning of the inspired Scripture. And his father would
 rebuke him ostensibly to his face, counselling him to seek
 nothing beyond his years nor anything further than the mani-
 fest meaning; but secretly in himself he rejoiced greatly, and
 gave profound thanks to God, the Author of all good things,
 that He had deemed him worthy to be the father of such a
 11 boy. And it is said that many a time he would stand over the
 sleeping boy and uncover his breast, as if a divine spirit were
 enshrined therein, and kissing it with reverence count himself
 happy in his goodly offspring. These are the stories, and
 others akin to these, that they tell about Origen's boyhood.
 12 But when his father had been perfected by martyrdom,
 he was left destitute with his mother and six smaller brothers,
 13 when he was not quite seventeen. His father's property
 was confiscated for the imperial treasury, and he found himself,
 along with his relatives, in want of the necessities of life. Yet
 he was deemed worthy of divine aid, and met with both
 welcome and refreshment from a certain lady, very rich
 in this world's goods and otherwise distinguished, who
 nevertheless was treating with honour a well-known person,
 one of the heretics at Alexandria at that time. He was an
 Antiochene by race, but the lady we have mentioned kept him

¹ Ἑλληνικῶν.

at her house as her adopted son, and treated him with especial
 14 honour. But although Origen of necessity had to consort
 with him, he used to give clear proofs of his orthodoxy, at
 that age, in the faith. For though very great numbers, not
 only of heretics but also of our own people, were gathered
 together with Paul (for that was the man's name), attracted
 by his apparent skilfulness in speech, Origen could never be
 persuaded to associate with him in prayer, keeping the rule
 of the Church, even from boyhood, and "loathing"—the
 very word he himself uses somewhere—the teachings of the
 15 heresies. His father had brought him forward in secular
 studies, and after his death he applied himself wholly with
 renewed zeal to a literary training, so that he had a tolerable
 amount of proficiency in letters; and, not long after his
 father's perfecting, by dint of application to these studies, he
 was abundantly supplied, for a person of his years, with the
 necessities of life.

3. And while he was devoting himself to teaching, as he himself
 informs us somewhere in writing, since there was no one at
 Alexandria set apart for catechetical instruction (for all had
 been driven away by the threat of the persecution), some of
 2 the heathen approached him to hear the word of God. Of these
 Plutarch is pointed out as being the first, who after a noble
 life was adorned also with a divine martyrdom; and the
 second, Heraclas, Plutarch's brother. He also, in his own
 person, afforded a fine example of a philosophic life and of
 discipline, and was deemed worthy of the bishopric of the
 3 204. Alexandrians in succession to Demetrius. Origen was
 in his eighteenth year when he came to preside over the
 catechetical school, and at this time also he came into pro-
 minence when the persecutions were going on under Aquila
 the governor of Alexandria. Then also he won for himself an
 exceedingly wide reputation among all those who were of
 the faith, by the kindly help and goodwill that he displayed
 towards all the holy martyrs, unknown and known alike.
 4 For he was present not only with the holy martyrs who were
 in prison, not only with those who were under examination
 right up to the final sentence, but also when they were being
 led away afterwards to their death, using great boldness
 and coming to close quarters with danger; so that, as he
 courageously drew near and with great boldness greeted the
 martyrs with a kiss, many a time the heathen multitude round
 about in its fury went near to stoning him, but for the fact
 that time after time he found the divine right hand to help
 5 him, and so escaped marvellously; and this same divine and
 heavenly grace on other occasions again and again—it is impos-
 sible to say how often—preserved him safely, when plots were
 laid against him at that time because of his excessive zeal and
 boldness for the word of Christ. And so great, then, was the

war of unbelievers against him, that soldiers were placed in groups for his protection ¹ round the house where he abode, because of the number of those who were receiving instruction 6 from him in the sacred faith. Thus day by day the persecution against him blazed, so that there was no longer any place for him in the whole city; from house to house he passed, but was driven from all sides, on account of the numbers who through him came over to the divine teaching. For in his practical conduct were to be found to a truly marvellous 7 degree the right actions of a most genuine philosophy (for—as the saying goes—as *was his speech*, so *was the manner of life* ² that he displayed, and as his manner of life, so his speech), and it was especially for this reason that, with the co-operation of the divine power, he brought so very many to share his zeal. 8 And when he saw still more pupils coming to him (for the task of instruction had been entrusted by Demetrius, the president of the church, to him alone), considering that the teaching of letters ³ was not consonant with training in the divine studies, without more ado he broke off the task of teaching letters, ³ as being unprofitable and opposed to sacred 9 study; and then for a fitting reason, that he might never be in need of others' assistance, he disposed of all the volumes of ancient literature which formerly he so fondly cherished, content if he who purchased them brought him four obols a day. For a great number of years he continued to live like a philosopher in this wise, putting aside everything that might lead to *youthful lusts* ⁴; all day long his discipline was to perform labours of no light character, and the greater part of the night he devoted himself to studying the divine Scriptures; and he persevered, as far as possible, in the most philosophic manner of life, at one time disciplining himself by fasting, at another measuring out the time for sleep, which he 10 was careful to take, never on a couch, but on the floor. And above all he considered that those sayings of the Saviour in the Gospel ought to be kept which exhort us *not* [to provide] *two coats nor* to use *shoes*, ⁵ nor, indeed, to be worn out with 11 thoughts about the future. ⁶ Yea, he was possessed of a zeal beyond his years, and by persevering *in cold and nakedness* ⁷ and going to the extremest limit of poverty, he greatly astounded his followers, causing grief to numbers who besought him to share their goods, when they saw the labour that he bestowed on teaching divine things. But he was not 12 one to slacken endurance. He is said, for example, to have walked for many years without using a shoe of any description, yea more, to have refrained for a great many years from the

¹ Or "with a view to capturing him."

² Cp. Plato, *Repub.* 400 D.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 22.

⁶ Cp. Matt. vi. 34.

³ Or "literature."

⁵ Matt. x. 10.

⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 27.

use of wine and all except necessary food, so that he actually incurred the risk of undermining and destroying his constitution.¹

Origen's Pupils.

- 13 And by displaying proofs such as these of a philosophic life to those who saw him, he naturally stimulated a large number of his pupils to a like zeal, so that, even among the unbelieving Gentiles and those from the ranks of learning and philosophy, some persons of no small account were won by his instruction. By his agency these very persons received the faith of the divine Word truly in the depths of the soul, and were conspicuous at the persecution then taking place; insomuch that even some of them were arrested and perfected by martyrdom.
4. The first of these, then, was Plutarch, he whom we mentioned a little while ago.² As this man was being led on the way to death, he of whom we have been speaking, being present with him to the very end of his life, was again almost killed by his fellow-citizens, as being clearly responsible for his death. But on that occasion also he was kept by the will of God.³
- 2 And, after Plutarch, Serenus was the second of Origen's pupils to show himself a martyr, after he had given through
- 3 fire the proof of the faith he had received. From the same school Heraclides was the third martyr, and after him Hero, the fourth; the former of these was still a catechumen, the latter lately baptized. Both were beheaded. Further, in addition to these, from the same school was proclaimed a fifth champion of piety, one Serenus, a different person from the first-mentioned of that name. It is recorded that after very great endurance of torture his head was taken off. And, among the women, Herais, who was still under instruction for baptism, as Origen himself says somewhere,
- received the baptism by fire,
- and so ended her life.
5. Seventh among them must be numbered Basilides, who led away the famous Potamiæna. The praise of this woman is to this day still loudly sung by her fellow-countrymen, as of one who on behalf of the chastity and virginity of her body, in which she excelled, contended much with lovers (for assuredly her body, as well as her mind, was in the full bloom of its youthful beauty); as of one who endured much, and at the end, after tortures that were terrible and fearful to relate,
- 2 was perfected by fire, along with her mother Marcella. It is said, in fact, that the judge, whose name was Aquila, after

¹ τοῦ θώρακος.

² 3. 2.

³ Cp. 3. 4, 5.

inflicting severe tortures upon her entire body, at last threatened to hand her over to the gladiators for bodily insult, and that, when after a brief period of reflection she was asked what her decision was, she made a reply which involved from 3 their point of view something profane. No sooner had she spoken than she received the sentence, and Basilides, being one of those serving in the army, took her and led her away to death. And as the crowd tried to annoy her, and insult her with shameful words, he kept restraining them and driving away the insulters, displaying the greatest pity and kindness towards her. She on her part accepted his fellow-feeling for her and bade him be of good cheer, for that she would ask him from her Lord, when she departed, and before long 4 would requite him for what he had done for her. Thus speaking, [it is said], she right nobly endured the end, boiling pitch being poured slowly and little by little over different 5 parts of her body from head to toe. Such was the contest waged by this maiden celebrated in song. And not long afterwards, when Basilides was asked by his fellow-soldiers to *swear* for some reason or other, he stoutly affirmed that *swearing* was absolutely forbidden in his case,¹ for that he was a Christian and acknowledged it openly. At first, indeed, for a time they thought he was jesting, but when he continued stedfastly to affirm it, they brought him to the judge. And when he admitted the constancy [of his profession] in his 6 presence, he was committed to prison. When his brethren in God came to him and enquired the reason of this sudden and incredible impulse, it is said that he stated that three days after her martyrdom Potamiæna appeared to him by night, wreathing his head with a crown and saying that she had called upon the Lord for him, and obtained what she requested, and that before long she would take him to herself. Thereupon the brethren imparted to him the seal in the Lord, and on the day afterwards he gave notable testimony for the 7 Lord and was beheaded. And it is related that many others of those at Alexandria came over all at once to the word of Christ in the time of the persons mentioned, because Potamiæna appeared to them in dreams and invited them. But this must suffice.

Clement of Alexandria.

3. Pantænus was succeeded by Clement, who directed the instruction at Alexandria up to such a date that Origen also was one of his pupils. In fact Clement, when compiling his *Stromateis*, in the first book displays a chronological table, using the death of Commodus as a terminus in measuring

¹ Op. Matt. v. 33, 34.

his dates; ¹ so that it is clear that the work was composed by him under Severus, whose time this present account is describing.

Judas.

1. At this time Judas also, another writer, composed a written discourse on the *seventy weeks* in the book of Daniel ²; he stops his record of time at the tenth year of the reign of Severus. 203. He also was of the opinion that the much-talked of coming of the antichrist was then already near. So strongly did the persecution which was then stirred up against us disturb the minds of the many.

The Rash Act of Origen and its Consequences.

1. At that time, while Origen was performing the work of instruction at Alexandria, he did a thing which gave abundant proof of an immature and youthful mind, yet withal of faith 2 and self-control. For he took the saying, *There are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake*,³ in too literal and extreme a sense, and thinking both to fulfil the Saviour's saying, and also that he might prevent all suspicion of shameful slander on the part of unbelievers (for, young as he was, he used to discourse on divine things with women as well as men), he hastened to put into effect the Saviour's saying, taking care to escape the notice of the 3 greater number of his pupils. But, wishful though he might be, it was not possible to hide a deed of this nature. Naturally Demetrius got to know of it later, since he was presiding over the community at that place; and while he marvelled exceedingly at him for his rash act, he approved the zeal and the sincerity of his faith, bade him be of good cheer, and urged him to attach himself now all the more to the work of instruction.
- 4 Such indeed was his attitude at that time. But not long afterwards, when the same person saw that he was prospering and a great man and distinguished and famous in the sight of all, overcome by a human weakness, he attempted to describe the deed as monstrous to the bishops throughout the world, when the most highly approved and distinguished bishops in Palestine, namely those of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained 5 him to the presbyterate by laying on of hands. So, as he had then advanced to a position of great esteem, and had acquired no small reputation and fame for his virtue and wisdom in the eyes of all men everywhere, through lack of any other ground of accusation Demetrius spread grave scandal about the deed

¹ Clem., *Strom.* i. 21 (139, 140, 144).

² Dan. ix. 24.

³ Matt. xix. 12.

that he had committed long ago when a boy, and had the temerity to include in his accusations those who raised him to the presbyterate.

- 6 This happened a little while afterwards. At that time, however, Origen was engaged at Alexandria in the work of divine instruction for all, without reserve, who came to him by night and in the course of the day, devoting his whole time untiringly to the divine studies and his pupils.

REIGN OF CARACALLA (211-217)

- 7 When Severus had held the principate for eighteen years, he was succeeded by his son Antonius.

Narcissus and Alexander.

At this time Alexander (being one of those who played the man during the persecution and after contending for the faith by their confessions were preserved by the Providence of God), whom we have mentioned lately as bishop of the church at Jerusalem,¹ was deemed worthy of the said bishopric, distinguished as he was for his confessions on behalf of Christ; Narcissus his predecessor being still alive.

9. Many other miracles, indeed, of Narcissus do the citizens of the community call to mind, as handed down by the brethren in succession, and among these they relate that the following
2 wonder was performed by him. Once at the great all-night vigil of the Pascha it is said that the oil failed the deacons, and that when deep despondency seized the whole multitude, thereupon Narcissus commanded those who were preparing
3 the lights to draw water and bring it to him; that when this was no sooner said than done, he then prayed over the water, and bade them pour it down into the lamps with unfeigned faith in the Lord. And that when they did this, contrary to all reason by miraculous and divine power its nature was changed in quality from water into oil; and that for a very long time, from that day even to ours, a little was preserved as a proof of that wonder of former days by very many of the brethren there.
- 4 And they enumerate a great many other things about the life of this man worthy of mention, among which is the following. Certain miserable characters, not being able to endure his energy and the firmness of his conduct, and fearing that they could not stand a trial if captured (for they were conscious of many evil deeds), anticipated the event by devising an intrigue against him and spreading a certain grave slander

¹ § 4.

5 to his hurt. Then, with a view to securing the belief of their hearers, they strove to confirm their accusations by oaths; one swore, "[if this is not true] may I be destroyed by fire"; another, "may my body be wasted by an untoward disease"; and the third, "may my eyes be blinded". But, swear though they might, none of the faithful gave heed to them, because the fame of Narcissus' sobriety and virtuous manner of 6 life was always well known to all. He, nevertheless, could not brook the wickedness of what had been said, and, besides, had for a long time been pursuing the ascetic life; so he escaped the whole company of the church, and spent many years 7 secretly in deserts and obscure parts of the country. Yet the great eye of Justice did not remain quiet at these deeds, but with utmost speed visited upon those godless men the curses with which in their perjury they had bound themselves. So the first was burnt to death with all his family, the house in which he was staying being wholly set on fire one night from absolutely no other cause than a small spark which happened to fall on it; as for the second, his body was covered, all at once, from head to toe with the disease that he had assigned 8 to himself as a penalty; and the third, perceiving the hap of the other two, and fearing the inevitable judgment of God who seeth all, made public confession of what they had plotted together in common. Yet, in the act of his repentance, so great were the lamentations by which he was wasted, so many were the tears that he unceasingly poured forth, that both eyes were destroyed.

10. Such were the punishments that these men suffered for their falsehood. But as Narcissus had retired and no one knew where he might be, it seemed good to those presiding over the neighbouring churches to proceed to the appointment of another bishop. His name was Dios. After a brief presidency he was succeeded by Germanion, and he in turn by Gordius. In his day Narcissus appeared from somewhere, as if come to life again, and was once more summoned to the presidency by the brethren, for all admired him to a still greater degree because of his retirement and philosophic life, and especially because of the punishment with which God had deemed it meet to avenge him.

11. And when he was no longer able to perform the ministry on account of ripe old age, the above-mentioned ¹ Alexander, being bishop of another community, was called by a dispensation of God to a joint ministry with Narcissus, by a revelation 2 which appeared to him in a vision at night. Whereupon, as if in obedience to some oracle, he made the journey from the land of the Cappadocians, where he was first deemed worthy of the episcopate, to Jerusalem, for the purpose of prayer and

investigation of the [sacred] places. The people there gave him the most cordial welcome, and suffered him not to return home again, in accordance with another revelation which was seen by them also at night, and which vouchsafed an identical utterance of the clearest kind to those of them who were peculiarly zealous. For it indicated to them to go forth outside the gates and welcome as their bishop him who was fore-ordained of God. And doing this, with the common consent of the bishops who were administering the churches round about, they compelled him of necessity to remain.

3 And in fact Alexander himself in a personal letter to the Antiochites, which is still to this day preserved with us, mentions Narcissus as holding the chief place along with him, writing as follows, in these very words, at the close of the letter :

Narcissus greets you, who before me was holding the position of bishop here, and now is associated with me in the prayers, having completed 116 years; and exhorts you, as I do likewise, to be of one mind.

Bishops of Antioch.

4 So was it with these matters. But when Serapion entered upon his rest, Asclepiades succeeded to the bishopric of the church at Antioch, and he was himself distinguished for his

5 confessions in the persecution. Alexander also mentions his appointment, writing thus to the Antiochenes :

Alexander, a slave and prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed church of the Antiochenes, greeting in the Lord. Light and easy did the Lord make my bonds, when I learnt at the time of my imprisonment that by the Divine Providence Asclepiades, whose worthy faith makes him most suitable, had been entrusted with the bishopric of your holy church of the Antiochenes.

6 This epistle he indicates had been sent by the hand of Clement, writing at the close in this manner :

But this letter I send unto you, my dear brethren, by the hand of Clement the blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, of whom ye yourselves also have heard, and with whom ye will become acquainted; who, when he was present here in the providence and oversight of the Master, both stablished and increased the Church of the Lord.

Serapion Bishop of Antioch.

12. Now it is likely, indeed, that other memoirs also, the fruit of Serapion's literary studies, are preserved by other persons, but there have come down to us only [1] those addressed To Domnus, one who had fallen away from the faith of Christ, at the time of the persecution, to Jewish *will-worship*¹; and

¹ Cp. Col. ii. 23.

[2] those To Pontius and Caricus, churchmen, and other
 2 letters to other persons; and [3] another book has been com-
 posed by him Concerning what is known as the Gospel of
 Peter, which he has written refuting the false statements in it,
 because of certain in the community of Rhossus, who on the
 ground of the said writing turned aside into heterodox teach-
 ings. It will not be unreasonable to quote a short passage
 from this work, in which he puts forward the view he held about
 the book, writing as follows :

3 For our part, brethren, we *receive* both Peter and the other
 apostles *as Christ*,¹ but the writings which falsely bear their
 names we reject, as men of experience, knowing that such were
 4 not handed down to us. For I myself, when I came among you,
 imagined that all of you clung to the true faith; and, without
 going through the Gospel put forward by them in the name of
 Peter, I said: If this is the only thing that seemingly causes
 captious feelings among you, let it be read. But since I have
 now learnt, from what has been told me, that their mind was
 lurking in some hole of heresy,² I shall give diligence to come
 5 again to you; wherefore, brethren, expect me quickly. But we,
 brethren, gathering to what kind of heresy Marcianus belonged
 (who ³ used to contradict himself, not knowing what he was saying,
 6 as ye will learn from what has been written to you), were enabled ⁴
 by others who studied this very Gospel, that is, by the successors
 of those who began it, whom we call Docetæ (for most of the ideas
 belong to their teaching)—using [the material supplied] by them,
 were enabled to go through it and discover that the most part
 indeed was in accordance with the true teaching of the Saviour,
 but that some things were added, which also we place below for
 your benefit.

The Writings of Clement of Alexandria.

13. Such are the writings of Serapion. But of Clement [1] the
 Stromateis, all the eight books, are preserved with us, upon
 which he bestowed the following title: "Titus Flavius
 Clement's Stromateis of Gnostic Memoirs according to the
 2 True Philosophy"; and of equal number with these are [2]
 his books entitled Hypotyposeis, in which he mentions
 Pantænus by name as his teacher, and has set forth his inter-
 3 pretations of the Scriptures and his traditions. There is also
 a book of his, [3] the Exhortation to the Greeks, and [4] the
 three books of the work entitled Pædagogus, and [5] Who is
 the Rich Man that is being Saved? (such is the title of another
 book of his), and [6] the treatise On the Pascha, and discourses
 [7] On Fasting and [8] On Slander, and [9] the Exhortation to
 Endurance, or To the Recently Baptized, and [10] the [book]

¹ Gal. iv. 14.

² Schwartz supposes that Serapion wrote: "was halting by reason
 of some heresy."

³ Reading *ōs*, with Schwartz.

⁴ Omitting *γάρ*, with Schwartz.

entitled the Ecclesiastical Canon, or Against the Judaizers,¹ which he has dedicated to Alexander, the bishop mentioned above.²

- 4 Now in [1] the Stromateis he has composed a patch-work,³ not only of the divine Scripture, but of the writings of the Greeks as well, if he thought that they also had said anything useful, and he mentions opinions from many sources, explaining
5 Greek and barbarian alike, and moreover sifts the false opinions of the heresiarchs; and unfolding much history he gives us a work of great erudition. With all these he mingles also the opinions of philosophers, and so he has suitably made the title
6 of the Stromateis to correspond to the work itself. And in them he has also made use of testimonies from the disputed writings, the book known as the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude;
7 and he mentions Tatian's book Against the Greeks, and Cassian, since he also had composed a chronography,⁴ and moreover Philo and Aristobulus and Josephus and Demetrius and Eupolemus, Jewish writers, in that they would *show*, all of them, in writing, that *Moses* and *the Jewish race* went back
8 further in their origins *than the Greeks*.⁵ And the books of Clement, of which we are speaking, are full of much other useful learning. In the first of these he shows with reference to himself that he came very near to the successors of the Apostles⁶; and he promises in them also to write a commentary on Genesis.⁷
- 9 And in [6] his book On the Pascha he professes that he was compelled by his companions to commit to writing traditions that he had heard from the elders of olden time, for the benefit of those that should come after; and he mentions in it Melito and Irenæus and some others, whose accounts also of the matter he has set down.

14. And in [2] the Hypotyposeis, to speak briefly, he has given concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures, not passing over even the disputed writings, I mean the Epistle of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles, and the Epistle of
2 Barnabas, and the Apocalypse known as Peter's. And as for the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says indeed that it is Paul's, but that it was written for Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, and that Luke, having carefully⁸ translated it, published it for the Greeks; hence, as a result of this translation, the same complexion of style is found in this Epistle and in the Acts:

¹ Or, "To the Judaizers."

² 8. 7; 11.

³ κατάστροων.

⁴ Clem., *Strom.* i. 21 (101. 2).

⁵ *Ib.* 15 (72. 4), 22 (150. 1), 21 (147. 2; 141. 1 ff.), 23 (153. 4).

⁶ Lit., "the succession from the apostles." *Ib.* 1 (11. 3), quoted v. 11. 5.

⁷ Clem., *Strom.* iii. 14 (95. 2); iv. 1 (3. 3); vi. 18 (168. 4).

⁸ ζιλωτίμως.

3 but that the [words] “ *Paul an apostle* ”¹ were naturally not prefixed. For, says he,

in writing to Hebrews who had conceived a prejudice against him and were suspicious of him, he very wisely did not repel them at the beginning by putting his name.

4 Then lower down he adds :

But now, as the blessed elder used to say, since the Lord, being the *apostle*² of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, through modesty, since he had been *sent to the Gentiles*,³ does not inscribe himself as an apostle of the Hebrews, both to give due deference to the Lord and because he wrote to the Hebrews also out of his abundance, being a *preacher and apostle of the Gentiles*.⁴

5 And again in the same books Clement has inserted a tradition of the primitive elders with regard to the order of the Gospels, as follows. He said that those Gospels were first written which
6 include the genealogies, but that the Gospel according to Mark came into being in this manner :⁵ When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, that those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record of what was said ; and that he did this, and distributed the Gospel
7 among those that asked him. And that when the matter came to Peter’s knowledge he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it forward. But that John, last of all, conscious that the outward⁶ facts had been set forth in the Gospels, was urged on by his disciples, and, divinely moved by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel. This is Clement’s account.

Clement, Pantænus, Origen and Alexander.

8 And again Alexander, of whom we spoke before,⁷ mentions Clement, and at the same time also Pantænus, in a certain letter to Origen, as men who had been known to him. He writes as follows :

For this also has proved to be the will of God, as thou knowest, that the friendship that comes to us from our forbears should remain unshaken, nay rather grow warmer and more stedfast.
9 For we know as fathers those blessed ones who went before us, with whom we shall be ere long : Pantænus, truly blessed and my master, and the holy Clement, who was my master and profited me, and all others like them. Through these I came to know thee, who art the best in all things, and my master and brother.

¹ Gal. i. 1, etc.

² Heb. iii. 1.

³ Acts xxii. 21.

⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 7 ; 2 Tim. i. 11 ; Rom. xi. 13.

⁵ Lit., “ had this dispensation.”

⁶ Lit., “ bodily.”

⁷ c. 11, etc.

Origen's Visit to Rome and his Work at Alexandria.

- 10 Thus do these matters stand. Now Adamantius (for this also was Origen's name), when Zephyrinus was at that time ruling the church of the Romans, himself states in writing somewhere that he stayed at Rome. His words are :

Desiring to see the most ancient church of the Romans.

- 11 After spending a short time there, he returned to Alexandria, and indeed continued to fulfil in that city his customary work of instruction with all zeal, Demetrius, the bishop of the people there, still exhorting and well-nigh entreating him to ply diligently his task of usefulness for the brethren.
15. But when he saw that he was becoming unable for the deeper study of divine things, namely, the examination and translation of the sacred writings, and in addition for the instruction of those who were coming to him and did not give him time to breathe (for one batch of pupils after another kept frequenting from morn to night his lecture room), he made a division of the numbers. Selecting Heraclas from among his pupils, a man who was zealous of divine things, and, as well, a very learned person and no tyro in philosophy, he gave him a share in the task of instruction, assigning to him the preliminary studies of those who were just learning their elements, and reserving for himself the teaching of the experienced pupils.
16. And so accurate was the examination that Origen brought to bear upon the divine books, that he even made a thorough study of the Hebrew tongue, and got into his own possession the original writings in the actual Hebrew characters, which were extant among the Jews. Thus, too, he traced the editions of the other translators of the sacred writings besides the Seventy; and besides the beaten track of translations, that of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion, he discovered certain others, which were used in turn, which, after lying hidden for a long time, he traced and brought to light, I know not from 2 what recesses. With regard to these, on account of their obscurity (not knowing whose in the world they were) he merely indicated this: that the one he found at Nicopolis, 3 near Actium, and the other in such another place. At any rate, in the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four well-known editions, he placed beside them not only a fifth but also a sixth and a seventh translation; and in the case of one of these he has indicated again that it was found at Jericho in a 4 jar in the time of Antoninus the son of Severus. All these he brought together, dividing them into clauses and placing them one over against the other, together with the actual Hebrew text; and so he has left us the copies of the Hexapla, as it is called. He made a further separate arrangement of the edition

of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion together with that of the Seventy, in the Tetrapla.

17. Now as regards these same translators it is to be noted that Symmachus was an Ebionite. Those who belong to the heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called, affirm that the Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, and suppose Him to be a mere man, and strongly maintain that the law ought to be kept in a more strictly Jewish fashion, as also we saw somewhere from the foregoing history.¹ And memoirs too of Symmachus are still extant, in which, by his opposition to the Gospel according to Matthew, he seems to hold the above-mentioned heresy. These, along with other interpretations of the Scriptures by Symmachus, Origen indicates that he had *received* from a certain *Juliana*, who, he says, inherited in her turn the books *from Symmachus himself*.²
18. At this time also Ambrose, who held the views of the heresy of Valentinus, was refuted by the truth as presented by Origen, and, as if his mind were illuminated by light, gave his
2
adhesion to the true doctrine as taught by the Church. And many other cultured persons, since Origen's fame was noised abroad everywhere, came to him to make trial of the man's sufficiency in the sacred books. And numbers of the heretics, and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers, gave earnest heed to him, and, one might almost say, were instructed
3
by him in secular philosophy as well as in divine things. For he used to introduce also to the study of philosophy as many as he saw were naturally gifted, imparting geometry and arithmetic and the other preliminary subjects, and then leading them on to the systems which are found among philosophers, giving a detailed account of their treatises, commenting upon and examining into each, so that the man was proclaimed as a
4
great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. And many persons also of a more ignorant character he urged to take up the ordinary elementary studies, declaring that they would derive no small advantage from these when they came to examine and study the divine Scriptures. For this reason he deemed especially necessary even for himself a training in secular and philosophic studies.

Origen's Study of Profane Literature.

19. Now, as witnesses also to his achievements in this direction, we have the Greek philosophers themselves who flourished in his day, in whose treatises we find frequent mention of the man. Sometimes they would dedicate their books to him, sometimes submit their own labours to him for judgment,
2
as to a master. But why need one say this, when even Porphyry, who settled in our day in Sicily, issued treatises

¹ iii. 27. 2.

² Annotation of Origen (see note).

against us, attempting in them to slander the sacred Scriptures, and mentioned those who had given their interpretations of them? And since he could not by any means bring any base charge against our opinions, for lack of argument he turned to deride and slander their interpreters also, and among these 3 Origen especially. He says that in his early manhood he had known him; and he tries to slander the man, but unknown to himself really commends him, telling the truth in some cases, where he could not speak otherwise, in others telling lies, where he thought he could escape detection; and at one time accusing him as a Christian, at another describing his devotion to the study of philosophy.

4 But hear the very words that he uses :

Some, in their eagerness to find an explanation of the wickedness of the Jewish writings rather than give them up, had recourse to interpretations that are incompatible and do not harmonize with what has been written, resulting in approval and praise of their own, rather than in a defence of foreign goods. For they boast that the things said plainly by Moses are riddles, treating them as divine oracles full of hidden mysteries, and bewitching the mental judgment by their own pretentious obscurity; and so they put forward their interpretations.

5 Then, after other remarks, he says :

But this kind of absurdity must be traced to a man whom I met when I was still quite young, who had a great reputation, and still holds it, because of the writings he has left behind him, I mean Origen, whose fame has been widespread among the teachers of 6 this kind of learning. For this man was a hearer of Ammonius, who had the greatest proficiency in philosophy in our day; and so far as a grasp of knowledge was concerned he owed much to his master, but as regards the right choice in life he took the 7 opposite road to him. For Ammonius was a Christian, brought up in Christian doctrine by his parents, yet, when he began to think and study philosophy, he immediately changed his way of life conformably to the laws; but Origen, a Greek educated in Greek learning, drove headlong towards barbarian recklessness; and making straight for this he hawked himself and his literary skill about; and while his manner of life was Christian and contrary to the law, in his opinions about material things and the Deity he played the Greek, and introduced Greek ideas into 8 foreign fables. For he was always consorting with Plato, and was conversant with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, Apollophanes and Longinus and Moderatus, Nicomachus and the distinguished men among the Pythagoreans; and he used also the books of Chæremon the Stoic and Cornutus, from whom he learnt the figurative interpretation, as employed in the Greek mysteries, and applied it to the Jewish writings.

9 These statements were made by Porphyry in the third treatise of his writings against Christians. And while he tells the truth about the man's training and erudition, he clearly

- lies (for what is the opponent of Christians not prepared to do?) where he says that Origen came over from the Greeks, and that Ammonius lapsed from a godly life into paganism.
- 10 For Origen kept safely the Christian teaching which he had from his parents, as the history above made clear¹; and Ammonius maintained his inspired philosophy pure and unshaken right up to the very end of his life. To this fact the man's works witness to the present day, and the widespread fame that he owes to the writings he left behind him, as, for example, that entitled *On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus*, and all the other works that are to be found in the possession of lovers of literature.
- 11 Let these things be stated to prove at once the false one's calumny and Origen's great knowledge of Greek learning. With regard to such learning also he writes as follows in a certain epistle, defending himself against those who found fault with him for his zeal in that direction :
- 12 But as I was devoted to the word, and the fame of our proficiency was spreading abroad, there approached me, sometimes heretics, sometimes those conversant with Greek learning, and especially philosophy, and I thought it right to examine both the opinions of the heretics, and also the claim that the philosophers
- 13 make to speak concerning truth. And in doing this we followed the example of Pantænus, who, before us, was of assistance to many, and had acquired no small attainments in these matters, and also Heraclas, who now has a seat in the presbytery of the Alexandrians, whom I found with the teacher of philosophy, and who had remained five years with him before I began to attend
- 14 his lectures. And though he formerly wore ordinary dress, on his teacher's account he put it off and assumed a philosophic garb, which he keeps to this day, all the while studying Greek books as much as possible.

Origen Visits Arabia and Palestine.

- This, indeed, is what he wrote in defence of his Greek training.
- 15 But at this time, while he was living at Alexandria, one of the military appeared on the scene and delivered letters to Demetrius, the bishop of the community, and to the then governor of the province of Egypt, from the ruler of Arabia, to the intent that he should send Origen with all speed for an interview with him. He duly arrived in Arabia, but soon accomplished the object of his journey thither, and returned
- 16 again to Alexandria. But after the lapse of some time no small warfare broke out again in the city, and leaving Alexandria secretly he went to Palestine and abode at Cæsarea. And although he had not yet received ordination to the presbyterate, the bishops there requested him to discourse and expound the divine Scriptures publicly in the church.

¹ 2. 7 ff.

- 17 That this is so is clear from what Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, the bishop of Cæsarea, write with reference to Demetrius. They make their defence somewhat as follows :

And he added to his letter that such a thing had never been heard of, nor taken place hitherto, that laymen should preach in the presence of bishops; though I do not know how he comes to say what is evidently not true. For instance, where there are found persons suited to help the brethren, they also are invited to preach to the people by the holy bishops, as, for example, in Laranda Euelpis by Neon, and in Iconium Paulinus by Celsus, and in Synnada Theodore by Atticus, our blessed brother bishops. And it is likely that this thing happens in other places also without our knowing it.

- In this way honour was paid to the man of whom we are speaking, while he was still young, not only by his fellow-countrymen¹ but also by the bishops in a foreign land. 19 But since Demetrius once again recalled him by letter, and by men who were deacons of the Church urged him to come back with speed to Alexandria, he returned and continued to labour with his accustomed zeal.

The Literature of this Period.

20. Now there flourished at that time many learned churchmen, and the letters which they penned to one another are still extant and easily accessible. They have been preserved even to our day in the library at Ælia, equipped by Alexander, then ruling the church there; from which also we have been able ourselves to gather together the material for our present work.

- 2 Of these Beryllus has left behind him, as well as letters, varied and beautiful compositions. He was bishop of the Arabians at Bostra.

And likewise also Hippolytus, who also presided over another church somewhere.

- 3 And there has reached us also a Dialogue of Gaius, a very learned person (which was set a-going at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus), with Proclus the champion of the heresy of the Phrygians. In which, when curbing the recklessness and audacity of his opponents in composing new Scriptures, he mentions only thirteen epistles of the holy Apostle, not numbering the Epistle to the Hebrews with the rest; seeing that even to this day among the Romans there are some who do not consider it to be the Apostle's.

¹ τῶν συνήθων.

REIGNS OF MACRINUS (217–218) AND ELAGABALUS (218–222)

21. But indeed when Antoninus had reigned for seven years and six months he was succeeded by Macrinus; and when he had continued in office for a year, again another Antoninus received the Roman government.

Roman Bishops.

- In the first year of the latter, Zephyrinus, the bishop of the Romans, departed this life, having held the ministry
 2 218–9. for eighteen entire years. After him Callistus was entrusted with the episcopate; he survived five years and then left the ministry to Urban.

REIGN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS (222–235)

After this the Emperor Alexander succeeded to the principate of the Romans, Antoninus having continued in office for only four years.

Bishops of Antioch.

At this time also Philetus succeeded Asclepiades in the church of the Antiochenes.

Origen and Mamæa.

- 3 Origen's fame was now universal, so as to reach the ears of the Emperor's mother, Mamæa by name, a religious woman if ever there was one. She set great store on securing a sight of the man, and on testing that understanding of divine things
 4 which was the wonder of all. She was then staying at Antioch, and summoned him to her presence with a military escort. And when he had stayed with her for some time, and shown her very many things that were for the glory of the Lord and the excellence of the divine teaching, he hastened back to his accustomed duties.

The Writings of Hippolytus.

22. At that very time also Hippolytus, besides very many other memoirs, composed the treatise On the Pascha, in which he sets forth a register of the times and puts forward a certain canon of a sixteen-years [cycle] for the Pascha, using the first
 222–3. year of the Emperor Alexander as a terminus in measuring his dates. Of his other treatises the

following have reached us : [1] On the Hexaemeron, [2] On what followed the Hexaemeron, [3] Against Marcion, [4] On the Song, [5] On Parts of Ezekiel, [6] On the Pascha, [7] Against All the Heresies ; and very many others also might be found preserved by many people.

How Ambrose Assisted Origen.

23. Starting from that time also Origen's commentaries on the divine Scriptures had their beginning, at the instigation of Ambrose, who not only plied him with innumerable verbal exhortations and encouragements, but also provided him 2 unstintingly with what was necessary. For as he dictated there were ready at hand more than seven shorthand-writers, who relieved each other at fixed times, and as many copyists, as well as girls skilled in penmanship ; for all of whom Ambrose supplied without stint the necessary means. Nay further, he contributed to Origen a vast amount of zeal in the earnest study of the divine oracles, a zeal which more than anything else acted as an incentive to him to compose his commentaries.

Succession of Bishops.

- 3 Such was the state of affairs when Pontianus succeeded Urban, who had been bishop of the church of the Romans for eight years, and Zebennus came after Philetus as [bishop] of the [church] of the Antiochenes.

Origen visits Cæsarea and Greece.

- 4 In their day Origen journeyed to Greece through Palestine because of an urgent necessity in Church matters, and received the laying-on of hands for the presbyterate at Cæsarea from the bishops there. The agitation that was set on foot concerning him on this account, and the decisions made by those who presided over the churches on the matters agitated, as well as the other contributions that he made as he was reaching his prime to the study of the divine Word, require a separate composition, and we have given a fairly full account of them in the second [book] of the Apology that we have written on his behalf.

Books written by Origen at Alexandria.

24. But to that information it is necessary to add that in the sixth of his Expositions on the [Gospel] according to John he indicates that he composed the first five while he was still at Alexandria ; but of this work on the whole of the self-same Gospel only

- 2 twenty-two tomes have come our way. And [we must also state] that in the ninth of those On Genesis (there are twelve in all) he shows that not only were those before the ninth written at Alexandria, but also [his commentary] on the first twenty-five Psalms, and, as well, those on Lamentations, of which there have come to us five tomes. In these he mentions also those
- 3 On the Resurrection, of which there are two. Moreover he wrote his *De Principiis* before his removal from Alexandria, and he composed the [books] entitled *Stromateis*, ten in number, in the same city in the reign of Alexander, as is shown by the annotations in his own hand in front of the tomes.

Origen's Statements about the Scriptures.

25. Now while expounding the first Psalm he has set forth the catalogue of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing somewhat as follows in these words :

But it should be known that there are twenty-two canonical books, according to the Hebrew tradition; the same as the number of the letters of their alphabet.

- 2 Then further on he adds as follows :

These are the twenty-two books according to the Hebrews : That which is entitled with us Genesis, but with the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, *Brēsith*, that is "In the beginning." Exodus, *Ouelle smōth*, that is, "These are the names." Leviticus, *Oukra*, "And he called." Numbers, *Ammes phekōdeim*. Deuteronomy, *Elle addebareim*, "These are the words." Jesus the son of Nave, *Iōsoue ben noun*. Judges, *Ruth*, with them in one book, *Sōphteim*. Of Kingdoms i, ii, with them one, *Samuel*, "The called of God." Of Kingdoms iii, iv, in one, *Ouammelh david*, that is, "The kingdom of David." Chronicles i, ii, in one, *Dabrē iamein*, that is, "Words of days." Esdras i, ii, in one, *Ezra*, that is, "Helper." Book of Psalms, *Sphar thelleim*. Proverbs of Solomon, *Melōth*. Ecclesiastes, *Kōelth*. Song of Songs (not, as some suppose, Songs of Songs), *Sir assireim*. Esaias, *Iessia*. Jeremiah with Lamentations and the Letter, in one, *Jeremia*. Daniel, *Daniël*. Ezekiel, *Ezekiël*. Job, *Jōb*. Esther, *Esthēr*. And outside these there are the Maccabees, which are entitled *Sar bēth sabanai el*.

- 3 These things he inserts in the above mentioned treatise. But in the first of his [Commentaries] on the Gospel according to Matthew, defending the canon of the Church, he gives his testimony that he knows only four Gospels, writing somewhat as follows :

- 4 . . . as having learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the Church of God under heaven, that first was written that according to Matthew, who was once a tax-collector but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for those who from Judaism

came to believe, composed as it was in the Hebrew language.

- 5 Secondly, that according to Mark, who wrote it in accordance with Peter's instructions, whom also Peter acknowledged as his son in the catholic epistle, speaking in these terms: *She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my*
 6 *son.*¹ And thirdly, that according to Luke, who wrote, for those who from the Gentiles [came to believe], *the Gospel* that was *praised* by Paul.² After them all, that according to John.

- 7 And in the fifth of his Expositions on the Gospel according to John the same person says this with reference to the epistles of the apostles :

- But he who was *made sufficient* to become a minister of the new covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit,³ even Paul, who fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,⁴ did not so much as write to all the churches that he taught; and even to those to which he wrote he sent but a few
 8 lines. And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of Hades shall not prevail,⁵ has left one acknowledged epistle, and, it may be, a second also; for it is doubted.
 9 Why need I speak of him who *leaned back on Jesus' breast*,⁶ John, who has left behind one Gospel, confessing that he could write so many *that even the world itself could not contain them*;⁷ and he wrote also the Apocalypse, being ordered to keep silence *and not*
 10 *to write the voices of seven thunders*?⁸ He has left also an epistle of a very few lines, and, it may be, a second and a third; for not all say that these are genuine. Only, the two of them together are not a hundred lines long.

- 11 Furthermore, he thus discusses the Epistle to the Hebrews, in his Homilies upon it :

- That the character of the diction of the epistle entitled To the Hebrews has not the apostle's rudeness in speech, who confessed himself *rude in speech*,⁹ that is, in style, but that the epistle is better Greek in the framing of its diction, will be admitted by
 12 everyone who is able to discern differences of style. But again, on the other hand, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle, to this also everyone will consent as true who has given attention to reading the apostle.

- 13 Further on, he adds the following remarks :

- But as for myself, if I were to state my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but that the style and composition belong to one who called to mind the apostle's teachings and, as it were, made short notes of what his master said. If any church, therefore, holds this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this also. For not without reason have
 14 the men of old time handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote

¹ 1 Pet. v. 13.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 18.

⁷ John xxi. 25.

⁹ 2 Cor. xi. 6.

² See 2 Cor. viii. 18.

⁴ Rom. xv. 19.

⁶ John xiii. 25.

⁸ Rev. x. 3, 4.

the epistle, in truth God knows. Yet the account which has reached us [is twofold], some saying that Clement, who was bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, others, that it was Luke, he who wrote the Gospel and the Acts. . . .

Origen migrates to Cæsarea.

26. But this must suffice on these matters. Now it was in the
 232. tenth year of the above-mentioned reign that Origen removed from Alexandria to Cæsarea, leaving to Heraclas the Catechetical School for those in the city.

Bishops of Alexandria.

And not long afterwards Demetrius, the bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, died, having continued in the ministry for forty-three entire years. He was succeeded by Heraclas.

Origen in Cappadocia and Palestine.

27. Now at this time Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, was distinguished; he displayed such esteem for Origen, that at one time he would summon him to his own parts for the benefit of the churches; at another, journey himself to Judæa, and spend some time with him for his own betterment in divine things. Nay further, Alexander, who presided over the [church] of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, [who presided] at Cæsarea, continued their attendance on him the whole time, as their only teacher, and used to concede to him the task of expounding the divine Scriptures, and the other parts of the Church's instruction.

REIGN OF MAXIMIN (235-238)

28. But to resume. When Alexander the Emperor of the Romans had brought his principate to an end after thirteen years, he was succeeded by Maximin Cæsar.

Origen and the Persecution.

He, through ill will towards the house of Alexander, since it consisted for the most part of believers, raised a persecution, ordering the leaders of the Church alone to be put to death, as being responsible for the teaching of the Gospel. Then also Origen composed his work *On Martyrdom*, dedicating the treatise to Ambrose and Protoctetus, a presbyter of the community at Cæsarea; for in the persecution no ordinary distress had befallen them both, in which distress it is recorded

that these men were distinguished for the confession they made during the period, not more than three years, that the reign of Maximin lasted. Origen has noted this particular time for the persecution, in the twenty-second of his Expositions of the Gospel according to John, and in various letters.

REIGN OF GORDIAN (238-244)

Succession of Bishops.

29. Gordian having succeeded to the Roman government after Maximin, Pontianus, when he had been bishop of the church of Rome for six years, was succeeded by Anteros; who exercised his ministry for a month, and was succeeded by
 2 Fabian. It is said that Fabian, after the death of Anteros, came from the country along with others and stayed at Rome, where he came to the office in a most miraculous manner,
 3 thanks to the divine and heavenly grace. For when the brethren were all assembled for the purpose of appointing him who should succeed to the episcopate, and very many notable and distinguished persons were in the thoughts of many, Fabian, who was there, came into nobody's mind. But all of a sudden, they relate, a dove flew down from above and settled on his head, in clear imitation of the descent of the
 4 *Holy Ghost in the form of a dove upon the Saviour*; ¹ whereupon the whole people, as if moved by one divine inspiration, with all eagerness and with one soul cried out "worthy," and without more ado took him and placed him on the episcopal throne.

At that very time also Zebennus, bishop of Antioch, departed this life and Babylas succeeded to the rule; and in Alexandria, Heraclas, having received the ministry after Demetrius, was succeeded in the Catechetical School there by Dionysius, who had also been one of Origen's pupils.

Origen's pupils at Cæsarea.

Now while Origen was plying his accustomed tasks at Cæsarea, many came to him, not only of the natives, but also numbers of foreign pupils who had left their *own countries*. Among these as especially distinguished we know to have been Theodore, who was the self-same person as that renowned bishop in our day, Gregory, and his brother Athenodore. Both of them were strongly enamoured of Greek and Roman *studies*, but Origen instilled into them *a passion for philosophy* and *urged* them to exchange their former love for the study of divine truth.² Five whole years they continued with him,

¹ Luke iii. 22.

² Gregory, *Pan.* 6. 78, 83, 84.

and made such progress in divine things that while still young both of them were deemed worthy of the episcopate in the churches of Pontus.

Africanus.

31. At that time Africanus also, the author of the books entitled *Cesti*, was well known. A letter of his, written to Origen, is extant; he was at a loss as to whether the story of Susanna in the book of Daniel were a spurious forgery. Origen makes a
2 very full reply to it. And of the same Africanus there have reached us as well five books of *Chronographies*, a monument of labour and accuracy. In these he says that he himself made a journey to Alexandria because of the great fame of Heraclas; who, as we have stated, was greatly distinguished for philosophy and other Greek learning, and was entrusted with the
3 bishopric of the church there.¹ And another letter of the same Africanus is extant, to Aristides, On the supposed discord between the *Genealogies of Christ* in Matthew and Luke. In it he establishes very clearly the harmony of the evangelists from an account that came down to him, which by anticipation I set forth in the proper place in the first book of the present work.²

Works written by Origen.

32. And Origen too at this time was composing his *Commentaries* on Isaiah, and at the same time those also on Ezekiel. Of the former, thirty tomes have come our way on the third part of Isaiah, up to *the vision of the beasts in the desert*; ³ and on Ezekiel five and twenty, the only ones that he has written on
2 the whole prophet. And having come at that time to Athens, he finished the commentary on Ezekiel, and began that on the *Song of Songs*, carrying it forward there up to the fifth book. And returning to Cæsarea he brought these also to an end,
3 numbering ten. Why should one draw up the exact catalogue of the man's works here and now, seeing that such would require a special study? And we did record it in our account of the life of Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, in which, in showing the extent of Pamphilus' zeal for divine things, I quoted as evidence the lists in the library that he had brought together of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers; and from these anyone who pleases can gather the fullest knowledge of the works of Origen that have reached us. But we must now proceed with our history.

¹ 3. 2; 15; 19. 13 f.; 26.

² i. 7.

³ Isai. xxx. 6 (LXX).

Origen and Beryllus.

33. Beryllus, who, as we have mentioned a little above,¹ was bishop of Bostra in Arabia, perverting the Church's standard, attempted to introduce things foreign to the faith, daring to say that our Saviour and Lord did not pre-exist in an individual existence of His own before His coming to reside among men, nor had He a divinity of His own, but only the Father's dwelling in Him. Whereupon, after a large number of bishops had held questionings and discussions with the man, Origen, being invited along with others, entered in the first place into conversation with the man to discover what were his opinions, and when he knew what it was that he asserted, he corrected what was unorthodox, and, persuading him by reasoning, established him in the truth as to the doctrine, and restored him to his former sound opinion. And there are still extant to this very day records in writing both of Beryllus and of the synod that was held on his account, which contain at once the questions Origen put to him and the discussions that took place in his own community, and all that was done on that occasion.
- 4 And a great many other things about Origen have been handed down to memory by the older men of our day, which I think it well to pass over, as they do not concern the present work. But all that it was necessary to know of his affairs, these also one may gather from the Apology that was written on his behalf by us and Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, a work that we were at pains to compose conjointly because of the fault-finders.

REIGN OF PHILIP (244-249)

34. When after six whole years Gordian brought his government of the Romans to an end, Philip along with his son Philip succeeded to the principate.

A Story About Philip.

It is recorded that he, being a Christian, wished on the day of the last paschal vigil to share along with the multitude the prayers at the church, but was not permitted to enter by him who was then presiding, until he confessed and numbered himself among those who were reckoned to be in sins and were occupying the place of penitence; for that otherwise, had he not done so, he would never have been received by [the president] on account of the many charges made concerning him. And it is said that he obeyed readily, displaying by his actions how genuine and pious was his disposition towards the fear of God.

¹ 20. 2.

Bishops of Alexandria.

35. It was the third year of his reign when Heraclas departed
 247. this life, after presiding for sixteen years over the
 churches at Alexandria; Dionysius took up the episcopal office.

Works of Origen.

36. Then indeed, as was fitting, when the faith was increasing and our doctrine was boldly proclaimed in the ears of all, it is said that Origen, who was over sixty years of age, inasmuch as he had now acquired immense *facility* from long *preparation*,¹ permitted shorthand-writers to take down the discourses delivered by him in public, a thing that he had never before allowed.
- 2 At that time also he composed the treatises, eight in number, in answer to the work against us, entitled True Discourse of Celsus the Epicurean, and his twenty-five tomes on the Gospel according to Matthew, and those on the twelve
 3 prophets, of which we found only five and twenty. And there is extant also a letter of his to the Emperor Philip himself, and another to his wife Severa, and various other letters to various persons. As many of these as we have been able to bring together, preserved as they were here and there by various persons, we arranged in separate roll-cases,² so that they might no longer be dispersed. These letters number
 4 more than a hundred. And he wrote also to Fabian the bishop of Rome, and to very many other rulers of churches, with reference to his orthodoxy. You will find these facts also established in the sixth book of the Apology we wrote on the man's behalf.

Origen and the Arabian Dissension.

37. Once more in Arabia at the above-mentioned time other persons sprang up, introducing a doctrine foreign to the truth, and saying that the human soul dies for a while in this present time, along with our bodies, at their death, and with them turns to corruption; but that hereafter, at the time of the resurrection, it will come to life again along with them. Moreover, when a synod of no small dimensions was then assembled together, Origen was again invited, and there opened a discussion in public on the subject in question, with such power that he changed the opinions of those who had formerly been deluded.

¹ Gregory, *Pan.* 2. 10.² τόμων περιγραφαί.

Origen on the Helkesaites.

38. At that time also another perverse opinion had its beginning, the heresy known as that of the Helkesaites, which no sooner began than it was quenched. Origen mentions it in a public address on the eighty-second Psalm, in some such words as these :

There has come just now a certain man who prides himself on being able to champion a godless and very impious opinion, of the Helkesaites, as it is called, which has lately come into opposition with the churches. I shall lay before you the mischievous teachings of that opinion, that you may not be carried away by it. It rejects some things from every Scripture; again, it has made use of texts from every part of the Old Testament and the Gospels; it rejects the Apostle entirely. And it says that to deny is a matter of indifference, and that the discreet man will on occasions of necessity deny with his *mouth*, but not in his *heart*.¹ And they *produce a certain book* of which they say that it has fallen from heaven, and that he who has *heard it and believes will receive forgiveness of his sins* ²—a forgiveness other than that which Christ Jesus has bestowed.

REIGN OF DECIUS (249–251)

39. But to resume. When Philip had reigned for seven years he was succeeded by Decius.

The Persecution : 1. Successors of Martyred Bishops.

He, on account of his enmity towards Philip, raised a persecution against the churches, in which Fabian was perfected by martyrdom at Rome, and was succeeded in the episcopate by Cornelius.

- ² In Palestine, Alexander, the bishop of the church of Jerusalem, appeared once more for Christ's sake at Cæsarea before the governor's courts, and for the second time distinguished himself by the confession he made; he underwent the trial of imprisonment, crowned with the venerable
³ hoary locks of ripe old age. And when after the splendid and manifest testimony that he gave in the governor's courts he fell asleep in prison, Mazabanes was proclaimed as his successor in the episcopate at Jerusalem.
⁴ And when at Antioch Babylas, in like manner to Alexander, after confession departed this life in prison, Fabius was made president of the church there.

¹ Book of Helkesai (see note).

² *Ib.*

The Persecution : 2. The sufferings of Origen.

Now the nature and extent of that which happened to Origen at the time of the persecution, and what was the end thereof; how the evil demon marshalled all his forces in rivalry against the man, how he led them with every device and power, and singled him out, above all others upon whom he made war at that time, for special attack; the nature and extent of that which he endured for the word of Christ, chains and tortures, punishments inflicted on his body, punishments as he lay in iron and in the recesses of his dungeon; and how, when for many days his feet were stretched four spaces in that instrument of torture the stocks, he bore with a stout heart threats of fire and everything else that was inflicted by his enemies; and the kind of issue he had thereof, the judge eagerly striving with all his might on no account to put him to death; and what sort of sayings he left behind him after this, sayings full of help for those who needed uplifting—[of all these matters] the man's numerous letters contain both a true and accurate account.

The Persecution : 3. The sufferings of Dionysius, the Alexandrians and the Egyptians.

40. As to that which befell Dionysius, I shall quote from a letter of his against Germanus, where, speaking of himself, he gives the following account :

Now I for my part speak also *before God*, and He knows if I *lie*.¹ Acting not on my own judgment nor apart from God
 2 have I taken flight; but on a former occasion also, when the persecution under Decius was publicly proclaimed, that self-same hour Sabinus sent a "frumentarius" to seek me out, and on my part I remained four days at my house, expecting the arrival of the "frumentarius"; but he went around searching everything, the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected I was hidden or walking, but was holden with blindness and did not find the house. For he did not believe that, pursued as I
 3 was, I was staying at home. And after the fourth day, when God bade me depart, and miraculously made a way, with difficulty did I and the boys and many of the brethren set out together. And that this was the work of the Divine Providence, the sequel showed, in which we proved helpful, it may be, to some.

- 4 Then, after some intervening remarks, he tells what happened to him after the flight, adding as follows :

For I, indeed, falling about sunset into the hands of the soldiers, together with those who were with me, was brought to Taposiris, but Timothy by the Divine Providence happened to

¹ Gal. i. 20.

be absent and to escape being seized; but coming afterwards he found the house deserted and servants guarding it, and us completely taken captive.

5 And further on he says :

And what was the way in which He wonderfully brought it about? For the truth shall be told. One of the country folk met Timothy fleeing and distraught, and inquired the reason of 6 his haste. And he spoke out the truth, and when the other heard it (now he was off to take part in a marriage feast, for it is their custom to spend the entire night in such gatherings) he went in and told those who were reclining at table. And they all, with a single impulse, as if at a preconcerted signal, rose up, and came running with all speed; and bursting in upon us they gave a shout, and when the soldiers that were guarding us straightway took to flight, they came up to us, lying as we were 7 on pallets without bedding. And I—God knows that at first I thought they were robbers coming to plunder and steal—stayed on the bed, naked save for my linen shirt, and the rest of my garments that were lying by I held out to them. But they bade 8 me get up and go out with all speed. And then, gathering why they were come, I cried out, begging and beseeching them to go away and leave us alone; and I asked them, if they wished to do me a good turn, to anticipate those who were leading me away and to cut off my head themselves. And while I was thus shouting, as those who were my companions and partakers in everything know, they raised me up forcibly. And I let myself fall on my back on the ground, but they seized me by 9 the hands and feet and dragged and brought me outside. And there followed me the witnesses of all these things, Gaius, Faustus, Peter and Paul; who also took me up in their arms and brought me out of the little town, and setting me on the bare back of an ass led me away.

Such is the account Dionysius gives concerning himself. 41. But the same person in a letter to Fabius, bishop of the Antiochenes, gives the following account of the contests of those who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria under Decius :

It was not with the imperial edict that the persecution began amongst us, but it preceded it by a whole year; and that prophet and creator of evils for this city, whoever he was, was beforehand in stirring and inciting the masses of the heathen against 2 us, fanning anew the flame of their native superstition. Aroused by him and seizing upon all authority for their unholy deeds, they conceived that this kind of worship of their gods—the thirsting for our blood—was the only form of piety.

3 First, then, they seized an old man named Metras, and bade him utter blasphemous words; when he refused to obey they belaboured his body with cudgels, stabbed his face and eyes with sharp reeds, and leading him to the suburbs stoned him.

4 Then they led a woman called Quinta, a believer, to the idol temple, and were for forcing her to worship. But when she turned away and showed her disgust, they bound her by the

feet and dragged her through the whole city over the rough pavement, so that she was bruised by the big stones, beating her all the while; and bringing her to the same place they stoned 5 her to death. Then with one accord they all rushed to the houses of the godly, and, falling each upon those whom they recognized as neighbours, they harried, spoiled and plundered them, appropriating the more valuable of their treasures, and scattering and burning in the streets the cheaper articles and such as were made of wood, until they gave the city the appear- 6 ance of having been captured by enemies. But the brethren gave way and gradually retired, and, like those of whom Paul also testified, they *took joyfully the spoiling of their possessions*.¹ And I know not if there be any—save, it may be, a single one who fell into their hands—who up to the present has denied the Lord.

7 Moreover, they seized then that marvellous aged virgin Apollonia, broke out all her teeth with blows on her jaws, and piling up a pyre before the city threatened to burn her alive, if she refused to recite along with them their blasphemous sayings. But she asked for a brief space, and, being released, without flinching² she leaped into the fire and was consumed.

8 Serapion they laid hold of at his own home, broke all his limbs by the severe tortures they inflicted, and cast him down head foremost from the upper storey.

Now there was no way, no thoroughfare, no alley by which we could go, either by night or during the day: always and everywhere all were shouting, that he who did not join in the chorus of blasphemy must immediately be dragged off and burnt. 9 And thus this state of things continued at its height for a long time. But the strife and civil war came upon the wretched men, and turned on themselves the fury of which we had been the object; and for a brief space we breathed again, since they had no time to indulge their anger against us. Immediately, however, the news was spread abroad of the change from that rule that had been more kindly to us, and great was the fear of threatened 10 punishment that hung over us. And, what is more, the edict arrived, and it was almost like that which was predicted by our Lord, well nigh the most terrible of all, *so as, if possible*, to cause 11 to stumble *even the elect*.³ Nevertheless all cowered with fear. And of many of the more eminent persons, some came forward immediately through fear, others in public positions were compelled to do so by their business, and others were dragged by those around them. Called by name they approached the impure and unholy sacrifices, some pale and trembling, as if they were not for sacrificing but rather to be themselves the sacrifices and victims to the idols, so that the large crowd that stood around heaped mockery upon them, and it was evident that they were by nature cowards in everything, cowards both to die and to 12 sacrifice. But others ran eagerly towards the altars, affirming by their forwardness that they had not been Christians even formerly; concerning whom the Lord very truly predicted that they shall *hardly* be saved.⁴ Of the rest, some followed one or

¹ Heb. x. 34.

² Or, "eagerly."

³ Matt. xxiv. 24. Eus. has *σκανδαλίσαι* for Matthew's *πλανᾶσθαι*.

⁴ A very free reference to Matt. xix. 23; cp. Mark x. 23; Luke xviii. 24.

- 13 other of these, others fled; some were captured, and of these some went as far as *bonds and imprisonment*,¹ and certain, when they had been shut up for many days, then forswore themselves even before coming into court, while others, who remained firm for a certain time under tortures, subsequently gave in.
- 14 But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by Him, and receiving power and steadfastness in due measure according to the mighty faith that was in them, proved themselves
- 15 selves admirable martyrs of His kingdom. Of these the first was Julian, a man who suffered from gout, unable to stand or walk. He was brought up with two others who carried him, of whom the one straightway denied; the other, Cronion by name, but surnamed Eunus, and the old man Julian himself, confessed the Lord, and were carried upon camels through the whole city, very large in extent as ye know, and thus uplifted were beaten, and in the end, surrounded by all the people, burnt in quick-
- 16 lime. A soldier who stood by as they were being led off, opposed those who insulted them; and, when the crowd cried out, Besas, that brave warrior of God, was brought up, and after excelling
- 17 in the great war of piety was beheaded. And another, a Libyan by race, Macar,² true both to his name and the [Lord's] benediction,³ though the judge urged him strongly to deny, was not induced, and so was burnt alive. And after these Epimachus and Alexander, when they had remained a long time in prison, enduring to the end countless agonies from scrapers and scourges, were also burnt in quicklime.
- 18 And with them four women: Ammonarion, a holy virgin, though tortured vigorously by the judge for a very long time, inasmuch as she had made it plain beforehand that she would not utter anything of what he bade her, kept true to her promise, and was led away. And as to the rest, Mercuria, an aged woman of reverend mien, and Dionysia, the mother indeed of many children, who yet did not love them above the Lord, when the governor was ashamed to ply continued tortures all to no end, and to be worsted by women, were put to death by the sword, and so had trial of no further tortures. For these Ammonarion, true champion, had taken upon herself on behalf of all.
- 19 Hero and Ater and Isidore, Egyptians, and with them a young boy of about fifteen named Dioscorus were delivered up. And at first [the governor] tried to wheedle the lad by words, as one easily led astray, and to compel him by tortures, as one that would easily give in; but Dioscorus neither obeyed nor yielded.
- 20 The rest he savagely tore in pieces, and, when they endured, committed them also to the flames. But, marvelling at the splendid bearing of Dioscorus in public and the wise answers he made to his questions in private, he let him off, saying that he granted him a period of delay to repent, on account of his youth. And now the most godly Dioscorus is with us, having remained for a still longer contest and a more lasting conflict.
- 21 A certain Nemesion, he also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of consorting with robbers, and when he had cleared himself before the centurion of that charge so foreign to his character, he was informed against as being a Christian, and came bound before the governor. He most unjustly inflicted on him twice

¹ Heb. xi. 36.² "Blessed."³ See Matt. v. 10, 11.

as many tortures and scourgings as he did on the robbers, and burnt him between them, thus honouring him, happy man, with a likeness to Christ.¹

22 A whole band of soldiers, Ammon and Zeno and Ptolemy and Ingenuus, and with them an old man Theophilus, had taken their stand before the court. Now a certain man was being tried as a Christian, and at that moment was inclining towards denial, when these men standing by ground their teeth, cast looks at him, stretched out their hands and made gestures with
23 their bodies. And when all turned towards them, before anyone could otherwise seize them, they ran of their own accord to the prisoner's dock, saying that they were Christians; so that both the governor and his assessors were filled with fear, and those who were on their trial appeared very courageous in the face of their future sufferings, while the judges were affrighted. So these men marched from the court in proud procession, exulting in their witness, *God spreading abroad their fame* ² gloriously.

42. And many others throughout the cities and villages were torn in pieces by the heathen, of whom I shall mention one as an example. Ischyriion was acting as the hired steward of one of the rulers. His employer bade him sacrifice; when he refused he insulted him, when he abode by his refusal he abused him foully; and as he still remained firm he took a very large stick, thrust it through his bowels and vital organs, and so killed him.

2 What need is there to speak of the multitude of those who *wandered in deserts and mountains*,³ and perished by hunger and thirst and frost and diseases and robbers and wild beasts? Such of them as survive bear testimony to their election and victory; but one fact in connexion with these men also I shall adduce as
3 evidence. Charemon was bishop of the city called Nilopolis, and of extreme age. He fled to the Arabian mountain with his wife,⁴ and never returned, nor could the brethren ever lay eyes again either on them or their bodies, although they made a long
4 and thorough search. But many in that same Arabian mountain were reduced to utter slavery by barbarian Saracens. Of these some were with difficulty ransomed for large sums, others have not yet been, up to this day.

And I have not given this account, brother, to no purpose, but that you may know all the terrible things that happened with us. Those who have had a larger experience of them would know more examples.

5 Then, after a little, he adds as follows :

Therefore the divine martyrs themselves among us, who now are assessors of Christ, and share the fellowship of His kingdom, and take part in His decisions and judge along with Him,⁵ have espoused the cause of certain of the fallen brethren who became answerable for the charge of sacrificing; and seeing their conversion and repentance, they judged it had the power to prove acceptable to Him who *hath no pleasure at all in the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance*;⁶ and so they received and

¹ Cp. Matt. xxvii. 38; Mark xv. 27; Luke xxiii. 33; John xix. 18.

² 2 Cor. ii. 14.

³ A free ref. to Heb. xi. 38.

⁴ *συμβίω.*

⁵ Cp. Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3; Rev. xx. 4.

⁶ Cp. Ezek. xxxiii. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 9.

admitted them to the worship of the Church as “consistentes,” and gave them fellowship in their prayers and feasts. What do ye counsel us, brethren, on these matters? What are we to do? Are we to be of like opinion and mind with them, uphold their decision and concession, and deal kindly with those they pitied? Or shall we esteem their decision unjust, and set ourselves up as critics of their opinion, cause grief to kindness, and do away with their arrangement?

Novatianism.

Now these words Dionysius suitably added, raising the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution, since Novatus, a presbyter of the church of the Romans, being lifted up by arrogance against these, as if there was no longer any hope of salvation for them, not even if they were to perform everything that a genuine conversion and a pure confession demand, became the leader of a separate sect of those who, in their pride of mind, styled themselves Puritans.

2 Whereupon a very large synod was assembled at Rome, of sixty bishops and a still greater number of presbyters and deacons, while in the rest of the provinces the pastors in their several regions individually considered the question as to what was to be done. It was unanimously decreed that Novatus, together with the partners of his arrogance, and those who decided to agree with the man’s brother-hating and most inhuman opinion, should be considered as strangers to the Church,¹ but that such of the brethren as had fallen into the misfortune should be treated and restored with the medicines of repentance.

3 Now there have reached us [1] a letter of Cornelius, bishop of the Romans, to Fabius, bishop of the church of the Antiochenes, telling the facts concerning the Roman Synod, and what was decreed by them of Italy and Africa and the regions thereabout; and, again, [2] another of Cyprian and of those with him in Africa, composed in the Latin language, in which it was made clear that they also agreed that those who had suffered trial should meet with succour, and that in the reason of things it was fitting that the leader of the heresy should be excommunicated from the Catholic Church, and likewise all those who were led away with him. To these was subjoined [3] a certain other letter of Cornelius, on the resolutions of the synod; and, again, [4] another on the doings of Novatus. There is nothing to prevent me from quoting parts of this last, so that those who read this book² may know about him. In explaining, then, to Fabius what kind of manner of man Novatus was, Cornelius writes these very words:

¹ ἀλλοτρίους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

² γραφή.

But that you may know that for a long time back this marvellous fellow has been *seeking the office of a bishop*,¹ and has succeeded in concealing in his heart this his violent desire, using as a veil for his insane folly the fact that he had the confessors
 6 with him from the beginning, I wish to speak. Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urban, both of whom twice reaped the highest meed of renown by confession, and Sidonius, and Celerinus, a man who, by the mercy of God, bore with the utmost endurance all kinds of tortures, and by the strength of his faith strengthened the weakness of his body, and so has mightily overcome the adversary—these men marked him, and detecting the craftiness and duplicity that was in him, his perjuries and falsehoods, his unsociability and wolf-like friendship, returned to the holy Church. And all the knavish tricks and devices that he had long dissembled in his heart, they made known in the presence both of a number of bishops, and also of very many presbyters and laymen, bewailing and repenting of the fact that for a brief space they had left the Church under the persuasion of this treacherous and malicious wild beast.

7 Then shortly afterwards he says :

How extraordinary a change and transformation, brother beloved, we have beheld to have taken place in him in a little while! For in sooth this highly distinguished person, who was in the habit of pledging himself by some terrible oaths in no wise to *seek the office of a bishop*,¹ of a sudden appears as a bishop
 8 as if he were cast into our midst by some contrivance.² For in sooth this master of doctrine, this champion of the Church's discipline, when he was attempting to wrest and filch away the episcopate that was not given him from above, chose to himself two companions who had renounced their own salvation, that he might send them to a small and very insignificant part of Italy, and entice thence by some made-up device three bishops, rough and very simple men. He confidently maintained and affirmed the necessity of their coming quickly to Rome, on the pretext that any dissension whatsoever that had arisen might be ended by their activity as mediators, conjointly with other
 9 bishops. When they arrived, inasmuch as they were too simple, as we said before, for the unscrupulous devices of the wicked, they were shut up by certain disorderly men like himself, and at the tenth hour, when they were drunk, and sick with the after effects, he forcibly compelled them to give him a bishop's office by a counterfeit and vain laying on of hands, an office that he assumed by crafty treachery since it did not fall to his lot.
 10 One of the bishops not long afterwards returned to the Church, bewailing and confessing his fault; with whom we had communion as a layman, all the laity present interceding for him. And as for the remaining bishops, to these we appointed successors, whom we sent into the places where they were.
 11 This vindicator, then, of the Gospel did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church, in which he was not ignorant (for how could he be ?) that there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 1.

² μαγγάνου.

exorcists, readers and door-keepers, above fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom are supported by the grace
 12 and loving kindness of the Master. But not even did this great multitude, so necessary in the Church, that number who by God's providence were rich and multiplying, nor an immense and countless laity, turn him from such a desperate failure and recall him to the Church.

13 And again, further on, he adds to these remarks as follows :

But come, let us next say in what deeds or in what kind of conduct he placed his confidence so as to aspire to the episcopate. Was it because from the beginning he had been brought up in the Church, and had fought many conflicts on her behalf, and had been through the midst of dangers, many and great, for the
 14 sake of religion? Not so. The occasion of his acceptance of the faith was Satan, who resorted to him and dwelt in him for a long time. While he was being healed by the exorcists he fell into a grievous sickness, and, as he was considered to be all but dead, received baptism by affusion on the very bed in which he
 15 lay, if indeed one may say that such a man has received it. Nor yet indeed did he obtain the other things, when he recovered from his sickness, of which one should partake according to the rule of the Church, or the sealing by the bishop. And as he did not obtain these, how could he obtain the Holy Spirit?

16 And shortly afterwards he says again :

. . . he who through cowardice and love of life at the time of persecution denied that he was a presbyter. For when he was requested and exhorted by the deacons to leave the cell in which he shut himself, and bring all the help to the brethren that it is right and possible for a presbyter to bring to brethren who are in danger and in need of succour, so far was he from obeying the deacons' exhortations, that he even went away and departed in anger. For he said that he no longer wished to be a presbyter, since he was enamoured of a different philosophy.

17 Passing over a few things, he again adds as follows :

For when this illustrious person deserted the Church of God, in which, when he came to believe, he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate through the favour of the bishop, who laid his hand on him to confer that order (meeting the opposition of all the clergy and many lay persons as well—since one who has received clinical baptism by affusion owing to sickness, as Novatus had, might not be ordained to an order—with the request that he should be allowed to ordain this man alone). . . .

18 Then he adds something else, the worst of all the man's offences, saying thus :

For when he has made the offerings, and is distributing to each his portion, as he gives it [into their hands] he compels the wretched persons to utter an oath instead of the blessing, taking in both his hands those of him who had received, and not letting go until they swear saying thus (for I shall use his

very words): "Swear to me by the Blood and Body of our Lord Jesus Christ never to forsake me and turn to Cornelius." 19 And the miserable person does not taste until he first calls down a curse upon himself, and instead of saying the Amen as he receives that bread, he says, "I will not return to Cornelius."

20 And after other remarks he again says as follows :

But know that now he has become bare and desolate, for every day the brethren desert him and go back to the Church. And Moses, that blessed martyr who just now bore a goodly and marvellous testimony amongst us, while he was still in the world, perceiving his insane arrogance, broke off communion with him and with the five presbyters who, along with him, had separated themselves from the Church.

21 And at the close of the letter he has made a catalogue of the bishops present at Rome who condemned the stupidity of Novatus, indicating at once both their names and the name 22 of the community over which each one presided; and of those who were not present, indeed, at Rome, but who signified in writing their assent to the judgment of the aforesaid, he mentions the names and, as well, the city where each lived and from which each wrote.

A story of Serapion.

44. This is what Cornelius wrote for the information of Fabius, bishop of Antioch. But to this same Fabius, when he was inclining somewhat towards the schism, Dionysius also, he of Alexandria, wrote, making many other remarks with reference to repentance in his letter to him, and describing the conflicts of those lately martyred at Alexandria. In the course of his narrative he tells a certain astonishing tale, which must needs be handed down in this work. It is as follows :

2 But this one example that happened amongst us I shall set forth for thee. There was a certain Serapion amongst us, an old man and a believer, who lived blamelessly for a long time, but in the trial fell. This man oftentimes besought [absolution], and no one paid him heed. For indeed he had sacrificed. And, falling sick, he continued for three successive days speechless and 3 unconscious; but on the fourth he rallied a little, and calling his grandson to him, he said: "How long, my child, do ye hold me back? Haste ye, I pray, and grant me a speedy release; do thou summon me one of the presbyters." And having said 4 this he again became speechless. The boy ran for the presbyter. But it was night, and he was unwell and could not come. Yet since I had given an order that those who were departing this life, if they besought it, and especially if they had made supplication before, should be absolved, that they might depart in hope, he gave the little boy a small portion of the eucharist, bidding him soak it and let it fall in drops down into the old man's mouth.

- 5 Back came the boy with it, and when he was near, before he entered, Serapion revived again and said, "Hast thou come, child? The presbyter could not come, but do thou quickly what he bade thee, and let me depart." The boy soaked it and at the same time poured it into his mouth, and when he had 6 swallowed a little he straightway gave up the ghost. Was it not plain that he was preserved and remained until he obtained release, that, with his sin blotted out, he might be acknowledged for all the good deeds he had done?

Letter of Dionysius to Novatian.

45. Such is the account of Dionysius. But let us see the kind of letter that the same person wrote also to Novatus, who was then disturbing the Roman brotherhood. Since, then, he put forward some of the brethren as an excuse for his defection and schism, as having been compelled by them to proceed to this length, see how Dionysius writes to him:

Dionysius to Novatianus a brother, greeting. If thou wast led on unwillingly, as thou sayest, thou wilt prove it by retiring willingly. For a man ought to suffer anything and everything rather than divide the Church of God, and it were not less glorious to incur martyrdom to avoid schism than to avoid idolatry, nay, in my opinion it were more. For in the one case a man is a martyr for the sake of his own single soul, but in the other for the sake of the whole Church. And if thou wert even now to persuade or compel the brethren to come to one mind, thy recovery will be greater than thy fall, and the one will not be reckoned, while the other will be praised. But if they obey thee not, and thou hast no power, *by all means save thine own soul*.¹ I pray that thou mayest fare well and cleave to peace in the Lord.

Letters of Dionysius.

46. This also [he wrote] to Novatus. And he wrote also [1] to the Egyptians a letter On Repentance, in which he has set forth his opinions with reference to those who had fallen, 2 outlining degrees of failures. And [2] to Colon (he was bishop of the community of the Hermopolitans) a personal letter of his is extant On Repentance, and [3] another in the nature of a rebuke² to his flock at Alexandria. Among these there is also [4] the letter written to Origen On Martyrdom; and [5] to the brethren at Laodicea over whom Thelymidres presided as bishop; and he wrote [6] to those in Armenia, likewise 3 On Repentance, whose bishop was Meruzanes. In addition to all these he wrote also [7] to Cornelius of Rome, when he received his letter against Novatus, in which also he clearly indicates that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop at Tarsus in Cilicia, and the rest of the bishops with him, namely Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, to

¹ Gen. xix. 17 (LXX).

² ἐπιστρεπτική.

attend the synod at Antioch, where certain were attempting
4 to strengthen the schism of Novatus. Moreover he writes
that he had received information that Fabius had fallen
asleep, and that Demetrian was appointed his successor in
the episcopate of Antioch. And he writes also with reference
to the bishop of Jerusalem, saying in these very words :

For Alexander, that wonderful man, being put in prison,
happily entered into his rest.

5 Next to this there is also [8] another extant, a “ diaconic ”
letter of Dionysius to those in Rome through Hippolytus.
To the same people he composed [9] another letter On Peace,
and [10] likewise On Repentance, and again [11] another to
the confessors there while they were still in agreement with
the opinion of Novatus. And to these same persons he
wrote [12, 13] two more, after they had returned to the
Church. And in his communications with many others, like-
wise by letter, he has left behind a varied source of profit to
those who still to this day set store by his writings.